

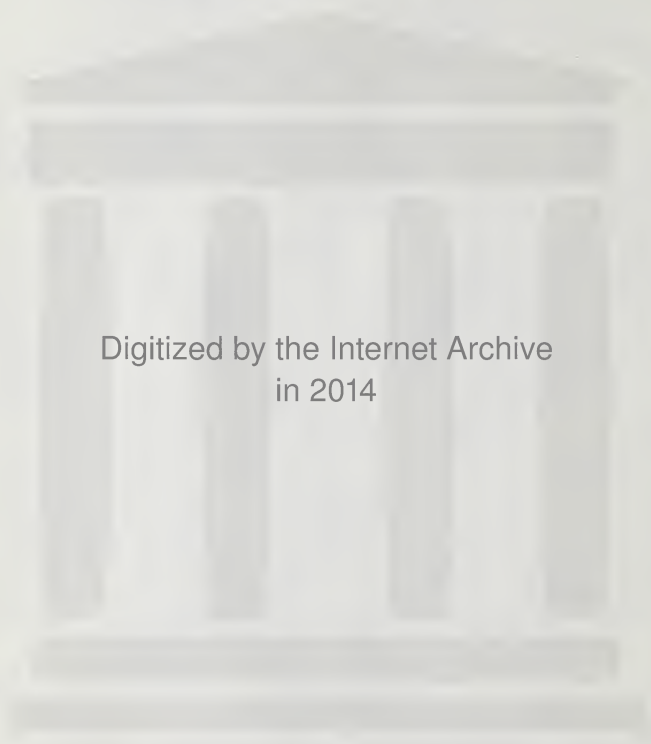
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MONOGRAPHS III

SOCIAL REFORM IN VICTORIAN LEEDS

The Work of James Hole
1820-1895

By

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PREFACE

Among historians today there is a fairly widespread acknowledgement of the need for local studies to supplement the generalised accounts of national social and political movements. A suspicion has begun to spread that perhaps our perspective has in some instances been a little distorted by an over-reliance upon evidence from metropolitan sources; and a preliminary search has begun to reveal important material in other centres. Especially is this true of the nineteenth century, when the economic and social growing-points were as much in Yorkshire and Lancashire as in London. Much of the material for a study of the social movements of Victorian England lies buried away in minute books and pamphlets, or preserved in the childhood memories of old people who remember the tales which they heard from their parents and grandparents, in Leeds and the West Riding.

The present study is a small contribution to the unfolding of the story of Victorian social effort. It is grouped round the figure of James Hole, who as a person appears a somewhat shadowy figure, but whose work has a significance wider than that of its Yorkshire setting. The two decades between the collapse of organised Chartism and the passing of the second reform bill constitute a hitherto neglected period of the nineteenth century; and yet a comparison between the social hopes and possibilities of the England of 1848 and that of 1867 suggests that the intervening period was one of fundamental readjustment and searching for new paths of social advance. Hole's work in Leeds covers this period, and its significance lies in the light which it throws on the process of social change in Victorian society.

I am greatly indebted to Mr. H. L. Beales, who first suggested to me that an investigation of Hole's work would be rewarding, and who subsequently helped me in carrying it out. To Professor G. D. H. Cole I owe thanks for reading the manuscript and for advice about its publication. To Mr. F. Beckwith I am indebted not only for his management of the details of publication on behalf of the Thoresby Society, but also for his great personal interest in, and knowledge of bygone Leeds. Lastly, I wish to record my thanks to the trustees of the Passfield Trust, who made a generous grant towards the cost of publication of this monograph.

J.F.C.H.

"MR. HOLE OF LEEDS"

It was by this title that he was commonly known after he left Leeds for London in 1867; and indeed it was during the twenty-two years of his life in Leeds that his main work for social reform was done. Born in London in 1820,¹ he apparently spent part of his youth in Manchester, where as a boy in the 1830's he was a member of the Mechanics' Institute.² He came to Leeds early in the 1840's to take up a position as foreign correspondent and confidential clerk to Messrs. Simon Bros., Shippers, of Bedford Street, Leeds,³ a firm of stuff merchants engaged in the export of worsted.⁴ The firm had widespread connections, including agents and trade in St. Petersburg. There is no evidence that Hole was ever more than an employee of this firm, although J. M. Ludlow could describe him in 1851 as "the managing man in one of the large firms of the town."⁵

In the absence of any personal papers, details of Hole's domestic life are almost negligible. He lived first at Alfred Place, Little London, Leeds,⁶ and later at Cardigan Place, Burley,⁷ and at Cliff Road, Woodhouse, Leeds. Of his two sons, James died in 1913,⁸ and Edward J. Hole became clerk to E. O. Greening, the Cooperator.⁹ Both were educated at the Leeds Mechanics' Institute Day School and Evening Classes, appearing among the prize winners for 1858 and 1867.¹⁰

That Hole had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, both locally and nationally, is to be expected from the multifarious nature of his social activities. Alike among Owenite Social Missionaries, such as Lloyd Jones and William Pare, and respectable Liberals like Edward Baines and Colonel Akroyd, Hole found acquaintances. The Tory-Radical Vicar of Leeds, Dr. Hook, was his fellow-worker; and through a common interest in social reform and the cause of national education, he became, after 1848, a frequent visitor to W. E. Forster's home at Rawdon.¹¹ His chief friends in Leeds were John Holmes and Dr. F. R. Lees,¹² the former a leading member of the Leeds Redemption Society, and a pioneer of the Leeds Cooperative Society, and the latter a Radical-Chartist-Temperance advocate. He was in contact with the literary group which centred on *The Truth Seeker*,¹³ a periodical published in Leeds from 1846 to 1850, and edited by F. R. Lees and George Searle Phillips ("January Searle"); and was likewise an acquaintance of William Howitt. His lifelong work and interest in the Cooperative Movement made him many friends and admirers, both in Leeds and at a national level; and his books on education, housing, and railways gained him a national reputation. On his death, the London *Times* printed an obituary,¹⁴ and the *Leeds Mercury* recorded that Sir Edward Baines, during his more than fifty years of the Presidency of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes "had no more zealous cooperator and helper than Mr. Hole."¹⁵

II

SOCIALISM IN PRACTICE AND IN THEORY

(1) The Leeds Redemption Society — a communitarian experiment.¹⁶

The first public mention of Hole, after his coming to Leeds, was in connection with the Leeds Redemption Society, of which he was one of the foundation members. Despite the failure of Queenwood in 1845, the idea of Communitarianism was still attractive to many of the working class and their sympathisers, the more so since other forms of working class endeavour, such as Chartism or trade unionism, appeared either impracticable or insufficient. Leeds, in the 1830's and 1840's, was second only to Manchester as a centre of radical and working class movements in the north, and both *The New Moral World* (from 1839 to 1841)¹⁷ and *The Northern Star* (from 1837 to 1844)¹⁸ were published there. As G. J. Holyoake said:

"Several volumes of *The New Moral World* were printed and published by Joshua Hobson, at 5, Market Street, Leeds. In the *New Moral World* for 1839, no fewer than eighteen notices are accorded to Leeds. Robert Owen, G. A. Fleming, Lloyd Jones, Dr. Frederick Hollick (still living in New York), Robert Buchanan, James Rigby, and all the lights of the 'Socialism' of that day — not dreamy but definite — not revolutionary but constructive — had spoken in Leeds. A hall was held by these advocates, and lectures delivered weekly, and famous discussions were held at times. Richard Carlile and Lloyd Jones met in Leeds. From 1838 to 1841, Leeds was an emporium of social ideas."¹⁹

Leeds was therefore well prepared for the reception of the latest ideas of those who might be fairly described as old Owenites — even though some of them, such as Hole, repudiated Owen himself. And the form which their activity now took was the formation of societies for the redemption of labour — to enable "the Working Classes to work out their own Redemption by Union amongst themselves."²⁰ Redemption Societies were started in several places, including Bury, Norwich, and Stockport,²¹ and the Leeds Society claimed local Branches in 1847 in Bingley, Birstall, Barnsley, North Cave, Hull, and Pudsey,²² as well as subscriptions from London, Nottingham, Oldham, and Brighton.²³ But the Leeds Society was from the start the largest and most active of these bodies.

The "Rules of the Redemption Society"²⁴ claimed that the Leeds Society was established on 8th September 1845, and Holyoake adds

that it grew out of a series of Sunday afternoon meetings held at the Unitarian Meeting House²⁵ in that year; though it does not appear to have been very active until early in 1846. The leading personalities in the Society were Owenites and Radicals, and a number of the younger ones later became active in the causes of consumers' co-operation and education (including adult education) and other movements for social reform. The President and chief inspirer of the Society was David Green, a publisher of Owenite and Socialist works, whose office was at 166 Briggate, Leeds.²⁶ The Secretary was W. Hobson (not to be confused with Joshua Hobson, the Radical printer and publisher, who also supported the movement), and the Treasurer, William West, a tailor and draper of Briggate, Leeds.²⁷ The other leading members, in addition to Hole, were Dr. F. R. Lees,²⁸ William Howitt,²⁹ Rev. E. R. Larken,³⁰ John Mill,³¹ William Eggleston,³² Robert Meek Carter,³³ Lloyd Jones,³⁴ John Holmes,³⁵ William Campbell,³⁶ Edwin Grant,³⁷ William Bell,³⁸ and John Hunt.³⁹ At the first annual soirée, held in the Music Hall, Leeds, on 7th January 1847, letters of apology were read from Lord Ashley, Douglas Jerrold, Joseph Sturge, W. J. Fox, and Joseph Mazzini (who offered to become a subscribing member).⁴⁰

Beginning in January 1847, the Society published a monthly paper, *The Herald of Redemption*,⁴¹ of which Hole was the editor: from April 1847 the title was changed to *The Herald of Cooperation, and Organ of the Redemption Society*, and it ran until July 1848, nineteen numbers in all being published. The office of the paper was David Green's shop in Briggate (except for the last two numbers, which were issued from William Eggleston's office at 18 Alfred Place, Leeds), and the printing and publishing was undertaken by William Robinson of Douglas, Isle of Man, in order to take advantage of the Manx legal anomaly of free postal circulation. (Members were also reminded that by gratuitous re-posting they could spread propaganda for Socialism at no cost). In addition to articles on various aspects of cooperation, mostly written by Hole, there were snippets and extracts from other contemporary journals, such as *Chambers' Journal*, *The People's Journal*, *Howitt's Journal*, *The Truth Seeker*, and *Douglas Jerrold's Magazine*. Poems by J. G. Whittier, J. S. Walker, G. H. Taylor, Goodwyn Barmby, and Charles Mackay were also included. Hole's articles were on Machinery and Competition, Cooperative wash-houses, Ralahine, Mr. Mazzini and Communism (a series of five), and subjects later elaborated in his *Lectures on Social Science*.

In the first number of the paper, in an "Address to our Readers",⁴² Hole set forth the aims and objects of the Redemptionists. Beginning with the existing evils of society, he pointed out the inefficacy of previous measures to cure them, and thence argued the case for the Redemptionists:

"If a man look abroad into society, he will see strange phenomena existing. Society appears to be labouring under a disease, complicated of poverty, ignorance, and crime. The benevolent and reflective of all classes are continually devising means for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and yet some of the most vital evils continue in unmitigated virulence."

The low condition of the working classes has not been successfully tackled by previous or existing methods, and the close causal relation between poverty, ignorance and crime has not been appreciated, except by a few people such as William Howitt and Harriet Martineau, who have realised the magnitude of the problem. The failure of measures hitherto adopted to improve the condition of the working classes has been due primarily to the great disparity between the means used and the ends they were proposed to accomplish. Society is divided into antagonistic "interests" and classes:

"Class stands opposed to class, and man to man; and so accustomed have men become to pursue their own isolated interests apart from and regardless of that of others, that it has almost become an acknowledged maxim, that when a man pursues his own interest alone, he is most benefiting society — a maxim, by the way, which would justify every crime and folly."

The interests of capital and labour have become separated, and labour has been made a commodity, dependent upon capital. But Hole deprecates attacks on individuals for this state of affairs; it is the fault of the whole system:

"In our vocabulary we know of no such terms as 'grasping capitalists', 'bloodthirsty speculators', etc. — terms, alas! too frequently employed either by ignorant or pretended friends of the working classes."

Consequently the attempts of the labourer to improve his position in this situation in the past have all been mistaken or inadequate. Machine wrecking and strikes are alike useless, as also is the bid to obtain political power, though

"Upon this many even now rely. But they may as well disabuse their minds of a vain expectation."

"The Community system of Mr. Robert Owen" seemed to offer more hope, but this failed through associating the Community Idea with moral and metaphysical questions. There is no need to introduce moral issues into what is basically an economic problem. The Owenites made the mistake of calumniating the world, "and the world in return calumniated them."

"Socialism failed, and its failure attracted no sympathy. Had its promoters confined themselves to the legitimate object of endeavouring to raise the working classes by means of community or co-

operation, they would have succeeded; and even if they had failed, they would have carried with them their own self-respect, and that of thousands now hostile to them, nor would they have inflicted so deep an injury upon a cause so noble."

The remedy of the Redemption Society is therefore that of a co-operative community, which is opposed to no sect or political party.

"... the Redemption Society knows of no party either in religion or politics. Its project is primarily economical. Men of all sects and parties have, during its short existence, joined it, and we hope such will continue to do so."

The aim is that of union in production, and in the share of the product:

"We intend to unite the labour of all for the benefit of all. In our operations we shall recognize no landlord, no capitalist, no labourer, as separate individuals having separate interests; but all will be landlords, all capitalists, all labourers."

As the motto at the head of the *Herald of Cooperation* proclaimed — "Labouring Capitalists, not Labourers and Capitalists" — was the goal.

Hole was clearly anxious that the Society should keep clear of all controversial religious and political questions, and in his editorial in the last number of the paper expressed misgivings about future policy.⁴³ It had been decided at the Cooperative Congress at Central Hall, London, on 1st May 1848 to start a new weekly newspaper, *The Spirit of the Age*,⁴⁴ and to merge the *Herald of Cooperation* into this. The new paper was to unite political ("ultra liberal") issues with the principles of association, and Hole had doubts about the wisdom of this:

"At the present stage of progress, there is not any necessary connection between politics and association . . . Ours is an economical problem, and not a political or a religious one."⁴⁵

Nevertheless, he wished the new paper well, though reminding readers that it could not be the official organ of the Redemption Society, which was not tied to any political or religious views.⁴⁶

The inexpediency of associating any public venture in the later 1840's with the Rational Religionists (with which the name of Robert Owen was now identified in the public mind), was probably the main reason why Hole, while adopting a policy of association which was Owenite in its inspiration, repudiated Owen himself. But the ancestry of the idea of the Redemption Society was made plain by William Howitt in his *People's Journal*, when he enthusiastically remarked that

"... The Leeds Redemption Society, if it succeeds, will be the first association of working men who will, in this country, have

the honour of carrying out for themselves the substantial portion of the plans of Owen, St. Simon, or Fourier,"⁴⁷

though he cautiously added that

"They will have effected this without the attachment of any religion or irreligious dogmas to their scheme."

The first task of the Society, in the realisation of these aims, was to raise sufficient funds to acquire land on which to begin the community experiment; and for the first two years its practical activities were devoted to this end. Subscriptions were collected weekly, Leeds being divided into fifteen districts for this purpose. Payments were a minimum of a penny a week, and sixpence for a copy of the rules. Admission to full membership of the Society was allowed only after six months' subscriptions had been paid, plus another sixpence for "the Card".⁴⁸ Propaganda tracts were distributed throughout the districts by the collectors, the President recommending (in a letter in the *Herald*) that they should only be lent out, and thus used several times.⁴⁹ The officers of the Society, all of whom were voluntary, meet each Monday evening at eight o'clock at Austin's Temperance Hotel, Briggate, to transact the business; and emphasis was placed on the need for "business like caution" and the efficient collection of subscriptions.⁵⁰ In a valedictory letter in the last number of the *Herald*, the President and Secretary recommended that those handling the money should always "be persons of some capital and known honesty."⁵¹ By January 1847 the Society claimed "upwards of six hundred contributors",⁵² though how many of these were full members and how many only candidates is not certain. In October 1851 the number of the former was 435, and of the latter category 329.⁵³

This activity in Leeds was only preparatory to, or in support of the main object of the Society, which was the settlement of a cooperative community. Originally the idea had been to purchase an estate near Leeds and to erect there workshops, schools, and factories⁵⁴; but in August 1847 they were offered an estate in South Wales by a Mr. Williams, who had returned from America enthusiastically in support of the community idea. The estate was at Garnlwyd, Carmarthenshire, and consisted of 220 acres, ninety of which could be entered on immediately. A special meeting of the Society was called for 11th August 1847 to consider this, at which Hole's motion that advantage be taken of this offer was adopted.⁵⁵ Renewed efforts to raise money now ensued, and it was agreed that if the money were not raised the estate was to be given back to Mr. Williams.⁵⁶

Details of the running of the new estate were worked out, and published in the *Herald*:

"It is the Society's intention, first of all, to put the land in the best possible agricultural condition. Simultaneously with this, building on a limited scale, proportionate to the wants of the persons

settled on the estate, and to the means of the Society, will be proceeded with; but nothing will be attempted which the amount of its funds will not warrant. The smaller handicraft trades will be set on foot in the first instance; and, as the Society's resources increase, factories will be built, and the more important branches of manufactures carried on from the common fund . . . The associates or labourers on the estate will be elected from among the members . . . in proportion to the requirements of "the undertaking . . . by the directors: who will try to choose the best adapted . . . Each associate will be provided with a separate house, or set of apartments, fitted up and furnished with becoming neatness and comfort . . . The individual operations and the general affairs of the Society's enterprise will be superintended by a governor or manager, assisted by a committee of the associated workmen . . . The rule will be for all work to be done by the members themselves, with the fewest possible exceptions, from the laying of the foundation stone of the first cottage to the finishing of the most highly-wrought machine in the factory. The articles of daily consumption will be drawn as far as may be from the produce of the estate itself: and the cooking operations conducted upon the most scientific and economical principles. A table d'hôte, or common table, will be provided; but the associates will be at liberty to take their meals in their own houses or apartments . . . In this matter, and in those of ordinary and trivial domestic detail, the Society will interfere as little as possible with the arrangements made by each associate for the comfort of himself and family; but it will take care to render the position of each, with respect to dwellings, food, clothing, and education, superior to that enjoyed by working men under the present competitive system, and will expect that each will do his duty to it in return."⁵⁷

The reality, however, fell far short of this sanguine prospectus. The Society continued to meet with that "apathy and indifference from the working classes, for whose especial advancement and happiness it was more particularly created", noted by Hole earlier.⁵⁸ The scheme was hampered by lack of funds — a weakness which continued throughout its existence. Moreover, the estate itself was far from ideal for farming, and was too remote for industry (being eighteen miles from Carmarthen, and eight miles from Swansea). Describing his visit there in 1850,⁵⁹ F. R. Lees said that although the estate was capable of development, much had to be done. The farm-house needed improvements, the barn and cow-house were too small, and there was a deficiency of good agricultural implements. The fields in front of the house were wet through want of drainage, "and partially covered with gorse (or whins), which, however, yield four or five pounds per acre as food for cattle." At least one third of the estate needed draining with four-feet drains, and the turnips grown suffered from lack of hands to thin and weed them. As he justly remarked, "It is evident that the communal farm is yet in a very

rudimentary state." But despite this depressing picture he continued in that strain of incurable optimism so characteristic of the Associationists at this period, that he "was much struck with their (i.e. the estates') great capabilities for the union of agriculture, handicraft trades, and manufactures. All that seems wanted is a sufficiency of earnest workers — the backwoodsmen of Communism, and capital and directing skill to make their labour productive."

By 1850 a start had been made in developing the estate. At first local hired labour had been adopted to assist the settlers from Leeds, but it was soon found to be unsatisfactory, since such persons had no interest in the aims of the Society, and were accordingly dispensed with.⁶⁰ In addition to farming, shoemaking was started, and the boots and shoes sold to the "unlocated members" back in Leeds. In May 1851 Green could report that "Some fourteen brave men are farming and shoemaking now, for the communal Commonwealth in our Welsh community",⁶¹ and during 1850 these had supplied to the members in Leeds farm produce to the amount of £38. 15s.; in addition to supporting themselves. £139. 14s. 4d. had also been spent in draining the farm during the year.⁶²

Progress during the first five years of the Society's life had not been spectacular; but at least an estate had been secured, settlers planted, and a body of supporters firmly organised in Leeds. What was next required was a considerable increase of support, so that the movement might become more broadly based, and the estate receive more settlers. To this end Green urged an alliance between all Redemptionists and Cooperators, pointing out that in Leeds the same people who were active in the Redemption Society were also the chief supporters of the Leeds and District Flour Mill Society.⁶³ A national "Congress of Redemptionists, Cooperators, and friends of Community of Property" was announced for Whit Monday, 1851, the object of which was "to obtain a more extended and united effort in favour of pure Community of Property."⁶⁴ The agenda included a great "national propagandism", the raising of funds for the Society's estate, the raising of capital for the establishment of shoe, hat and other trades, the possibility of a paid secretary, and the union of all cooperative and communist efforts into one movement. In the event, the Congress attracted few but Redemptionists, the emphasis on community of property probably scaring off those who, like the editor of the *Christian Socialist*, could declare themselves in favour of partnership in production, but not of partnership of property — ". . . Communists we are not; Communists we should not call ourselves . . ."⁶⁵

At the Congress,⁶⁶ of which the Rev. E. R. Larken was president, plans for the erection of communal buildings on the estate were decided on, and it was agreed to try to raise one thousand pounds in one pound shares to start the manufacture of clothing and shoes. A

full-time secretary, James Henderson, was also appointed. Beginning on 14th July an intensive fourteen days' propaganda campaign was planned, and a four-page tract, *What to Say*, was issued.⁶⁷ This was intended as a guide for the amateur propagandists when working on their friends, and illustrates the grounds on which they sought to sell the idea of the Redemption Society and also the counter arguments which they expected to meet.

First the young proselytizer is advised to remind his friends of the dangers of unemployment and their low wages when in work; to tell them how they will again be thrown on parish charity when "panics" come; and show them the difference in the average expectancy of life between the working class (24 years), the middle class (30 years) and the aristocracy (40 years).⁶⁸ He should emphasise that there is no natural necessity why *any* should be poor: it is only the want of proper social arrangements which hinders adequacy for all: with machinery to aid them men can produce more than enough for all. To remedy these evils there is only one solution — "the people must become Labouring Capitalists, in short, their own employers" — and the Redemption Society is such a plan.

The main grounds of opposition anticipated were doubts as to the financial security of the contributions, and the failure of previous community experiments in recent years. As regards the first of these, it was to be pointed out that the Redemption Society was enrolled under the Friendly Societies Act, and all moneys had to be legally accounted for, which ensured complete security. But the second objection was evidently considered the more formidable, for detailed replies to it are suggested:

"Should your friends object that other such plans had failed, you must say, 'True, but others have also succeeded — and ours is succeeding.' Tell them that we have the benefit of previous experience of these plans, which the others could not have. You may even affirm that this *cannot fail*, since, while the members of the Community produce more than they consume, and our laws expressly forbid us to get into debt, we have subscriptions constantly flowing in."

If, however, your friends should instance, by way of example, "the Land Plan of Mr. O'Connor",⁶⁹ you should

"... tell them that it was not enrolled, and that if it had been, it was *founded upon a totally different idea from ours*, so that, if a thousand such schemes had failed, it could be no criterion by which to judge of the probable issue of the Redemption Society."

Moreover, you should

"... inform your friends *that community of property is no untried theory*, but a *system* that has been in practice for more than sixty years in the United States, among a people called *Shakers*."

They started with only a dozen members, and now number six thousand.

With this inspiration to guide them, the Redemptionists kept up their propaganda campaign throughout the remainder of the year⁷⁰: camp meetings were held on Hoibeck Moor,⁷¹ Woodhouse Moor,⁷² and open air meetings in the villages near Leeds.⁷³ Public discussions with opponents of Redemption were given much publicity, and in November a "Harvest Home" festival was celebrated in Leeds, at which four hundred people sat down to tea, and addresses were delivered by Larkin, Vansittart-Neale, and the leaders of the Society.⁷⁴

Consumers' cooperation, in the form of a retail distributive store, had not been among the original aims of the Redemptionists, but this too was now added to the enterprises of the Society in the outburst of activity in 1851. It was probably the failure of the "Forward Policy" of founding a grocery store in connection with the Leeds and District Flour Mill Society that caused this step to be taken by the Redemptionists, since Hole and Green were among the chief advocates of a retail store in the Flour Mill Society. In August, when on a visit to the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, in London, Green was reported as saying that:

"The attempt to form a Grocery Store in connection with the People's Mill, we are sorry to say, has failed for the present, but such a Store will probably be constituted ere long in connection with the Redemption Society."⁷⁵

In November, the store was said to be "progressing favourably", and later in the month new premises were acquired at No. 5 Trinity Street, Leeds, comprising not only a shop, but also a lecture room and boardroom.⁷⁶ G. J. Holyoake, perhaps more realistically, described it as a little shop over a stable, open only in the evenings, when a member of the committee attended. It had been intended that the store should be a market for the surplus produce from the estate, but in view of the small nature of that undertaking it is doubtful whether the produce would have been sufficient to have supplied a store for long. If Holyoake is to be believed,

"The principal article sent from the Society's estate in Wales was blackberry jam. Blackberries being plentiful about the place, labourers' children gathered them and sold them to the little Colony for a shilling a basket, and so jam came to the Redemption Society in Trinity Street, Leeds."⁷⁷

The latter years of the Redemption Society are somewhat obscure. During 1852 the store was supplied with cheese, butter and boots from Wales, and tailoring was begun, the cloth being manufactured by some of the Redemptionists.⁷⁸ But the realisation of the inadequacy of the Society for the achievement of the aims outlined in Hole's original "Address", together with the appearance of alternative paths

to social reform, set a limit to the life of the Society. It continued for several years longer, but, according to the evidence which Hole and other old Redemptionists gave to Benjamin Jones later in the century, it ceased to exist in 1855.

"All its debts were paid in full; and there was a surplus, which was divided among some Leeds public institutions."⁷⁹

The Redemption Society did not, like some similar voluntary organizations, leave behind it any subsidiary undertaking, such as a school, which might have continued an independent life after the death of its parent institution. Indeed, the Society appears to have paid but little attention to education as a matter of actual provision. No mention of a school or education of any kind is made in the original rules,⁸⁰ nor does the *Herald* record any series of lectures or classes run by the Society. Nevertheless, the leading Redemptionists were well aware of the value of and need for improved educational facilities. The followers of the educational reforms of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg were the natural allies of Communitarians, and the interpenetration of social and educational purposes is shown in the emphasis placed on education by social reformers such as Owen and Fourier, and the complementary tendency of educational reformers to think in terms of the social context of education.⁸¹ Both Hole and Howitt were admirers of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg,⁸² but they did not attempt to introduce directly any of the latter's ideas into the Society. Probably they felt that a multiplicity of aims would only diffuse the Society's energies, which in its early days were best concentrated on a few ends; and in any case, for those interested in education there were other channels. In his chairman's address to the first soirée of the Society in January 1847,⁸³ Howitt referred to the need for education of the working classes, but suggested that education had hitherto been of only restricted use to working men because of their poor material conditions. Education was no use to working men until "they knew how to reap the fruits of it", and it had not so far enabled them to secure "a firm footing in the world" or "a fair share of the profits" of society. Only when these were achieved, through the Redemption Society, would it be possible to enjoy the benefits of education. Howitt claimed a full education as a *right* for every person, but said that it could not be exercised until they had communism.

If, in the ten years of its existence, the Redemption Society apparently achieved so little, what is its significance? As Professor Bestor says in his analysis of the communitarian movement in America before 1829, it is an approach to social reform which is difficult to recognise today, because the means which the communitarians proposed no longer appear practicable. The idea of employing a small experimental community to demonstrate the superiority of certain types of social organization (and the correlative belief that such superiority only

needed to be convincingly demonstrated for the whole of society to adopt it as a pattern of reform) appeared to contemporaries as a practical method for future progress. The publicists for the Redemption Society were concerned not merely with proving the practicability of the idea of communitarianism, but equally with convincing potential supporters that this particular communitarian experiment was organized on sound business lines, and that its finances were managed by responsible people.

The appeal of communitarianism was that it appeared to offer a method of social advance at a time when other methods were unacceptable or discredited. In the latter half of the 1840's individualism of the "laissez faire" variety was completely rejected as a means of social reform by men such as Hole, to whom the vast social evils of urban industrialism were only too apparent in their immediate surroundings. Revolution, as a method of social change, was discredited by the failure of the Chartists to secure any significant social changes by their methods; and similarly political action as a whole was regarded as unlikely to effect immediate changes in society. The method of gradualism, or effecting change through a series of reforms which would be cumulative in effect, was that which Hole came to adopt in the 1850's but in the atmosphere of 1845-48 such an approach appeared inadequate, since what was required was not improved conditions within existing "laissez faire" society, but a total reconstruction of that society. The appeal of Communitarianism was that it offered an alternative to all these methods, by suggesting a practical path of advance to secure drastic reforms without revolution. It enabled Hole to combine fierce denunciations of capitalist society and a demand for radical social change, with a practical programme of social reform which was anything but revolutionary.

The idea of Communitarianism, however, had appeared long before the period of the Redemption Society, and this legacy, while providing the core of the communitarian idea in the 1840's, was nevertheless somewhat of an embarrassment. The failure of the early Owenite community experiments in the 1820's, at Orbiston and New Harmony, and the closing of Ralahine in 1833, had not discredited the communitarian idea in the eyes of social reformers — perhaps because the number of plausible explanations of their failure was so large.⁸⁵ Even the collapse of the grand experiment at Queenwood in 1846, coinciding as it did with the birth of the Redemption Society, was not held to invalidate the principles upon which the latter was founded, but only to show the errors of Owen's particular policy towards communitarianism. Owenism had by this time become identified in the public mind with secularism and free-love, rather than with communitarianism⁸⁶; and it was for this reason, that Hole was anxious to dissociate the young Society from Owen and Owenism, not because of any fundamental objection to Owenite communitarianism. Hole was acquainted

with the American communitarian experiments, through the writings of Harriet Martineau and James Silk Buckingham⁸⁷: and the *Herald* published articles on "Recent American Communities", and also on Ralahine. The Redemptionists were familiar also with community experiments in France, with the work of Count Rumford at Munich, and with the general ideas not only of Owen, but also of Fourier, St. Simon, and Louis Blanc.⁸⁸ They regarded themselves not as an isolated experiment, but as part of a definite communitarian movement.

That the idea of starting a new life, amidst rural surroundings, had a real appeal to the artisan in the industrial areas is not difficult to imagine; and the various schemes for land settlement with objects as widely different as O'Connor's Chartist Land Scheme,⁸⁹ home colonisation for relief of the unemployed,⁹⁰ and the Radicals' Freehold Land Societies⁹¹ indicate that reformers of many kinds pinned their hopes to it. But the Redemptionists did not propose a return to an idyllic pre-industrial society. They envisaged the establishment, in due course, of factories on their South Wales estate, in which "the more important branches of manufactures" would be carried on; and Hole was at pains to emphasise the value of machinery to the working classes.⁹²

But just as the appeal of the communitarian experiments of the Redemption Society was that it seemed to offer a method of social reform when other methods appeared sterile, so it declined when alternative methods again appeared to offer real benefits. Already, in his *Lectures on Social Science* (1851), Hole looked forward to genuine social progress through a series of gradual reforms, in all of which he detected the principle of "Associationism". By the time that the Redemption Society petered out, he had long been active in other, and more fruitful forms of social reform, particularly adult education and consumers' cooperation.

(2) The Leeds Cooperative Society — consumers' cooperation.

Consumers' cooperation in Leeds, in the institution of the Leeds Industrial Cooperative Society, traces its origin not from the little store of the Redemptionists in Trinity Street, but from a parallel movement of the same period. In February 1847 a number of work-people employed at Messrs. Benyon and Co's flax mill, Holbeck, exasperated by the exorbitant price of flour, issued a manifesto proposing the erection of a cooperative corn mill, to supply the members with flour, and calling for a public meeting on 1st March to effect this.⁹³ At this meeting, with William Eggleston (of the Redemption Society) in the chair, the Holbeck Anti-Corn Mill Association was formed, and it was resolved to call another meeting to secure wide public support. At this public meeting, held in the Court House,

Leeds, the Leeds District Flour Mill Society was launched, and the Benyon Mill men's efforts became merged in the larger movement. A committee was appointed to organize the new venture, and Hole, Green, and Eggleston were included in this.⁹⁴ The object of the Society was solely to supply the members with pure, unadulterated flour, at a reasonable price; no other activities were envisaged; and the rules were framed accordingly. Thus, each member was to receive only sufficient flour for his own family, and was not to resell it either as flour or cakes.⁹⁵

At first a hired mill was used; but because of the defective nature of the machinery and building, it was decided to buy a mill, which was done in 1848 at a cost of £2,400 plus a further £2,000 for machinery. The retailing of the flour was done through ordinary shopkeepers in Leeds, who received a commission on sales. In the first three years of the Society's existence, the price of flour in Leeds was reduced by 2d. per stone, and the Society's flour sold at nearly three-halfpence a stone cheaper than the average market price. By the end of 1850, the Society had 3,400 members, employed eleven persons in the mill, and had thirty-eight appointed shopkeepers who received 15d. per bag of twenty stones as commission for retailing the flour. The market price of the best flour in Leeds was then 1/10d. per stone, and that of the Society, while of the finest quality, was sold to members at 1/9d.⁹⁶

In this rapid and successful development, the chief Redemptionists had played a leading part. Hole, although a member of the committee responsible for drawing up the original rules and organization, was not a member of the first board of directors in 1847. But in 1849 he was made a director, and his name occurs frequently in the minutes of the board meetings. Green, Eggleston, Holmes, Lloyd Jones, and Carter, were all important members of the Flour Society, and Edwin Gaunt was secretary from 1850 to 1853.⁹⁷

It was not surprising, therefore, that before long there should be dissatisfaction with the very restricted aims and activities of what had proved to be such a successful institution. The Redemptionists, with their wide aims for the transformation of the whole of capitalist society into a socialist commonwealth, could not but compare the slender resources and limited success of the struggling Redemption Society with the large membership and sound financial basis of the Flour Society, tied, unfortunately, to such a parochial and restricted aim. What was more natural than to think of harnessing the business success of the latter to the wider aims of the former? This attempt at first took the form of a demand for an extension of the sale of flour to other groceries, so that the Society, instead of being merely a corn mill would become a consumers' store organization. The Redemptionists did not regard this as a final goal, but only a next step,

through the raising of funds, towards the ideal of cooperative workshops and farms. This "Forward Policy" was envisaged as early as 1850, for in a letter, dated 4th January 1851, to the *Christian Socialist*, an anonymous writer gave a description of the "People's Mill of Leeds", and added that:

"Not a few among us intend, when all we owe is paid (to which of course our surplus goes), to go on to other means of cooperation. If we supply ourselves well with flour, good, pure, and cheap, we also want tea, coffee, meat, etc., etc., on the same footing. We are, moreover, quite certain that the power, and experience we now have, will enable us to do these things to great advantage. But we have still much to contend with, our members do not all understand and appreciate cooperation . . . : so that with our present triumphant proof of the advantage of combination, we must still proceed very slowly in any future steps."⁹⁸

Later in the year (1851), a writer who signed himself "E.W.", in rebutting J. M. Ludlow's charge (in an earlier number of the *Christian Socialist*) of timidity of the Leeds Society in venturing into the grocery business, stated that prudence should not be mistaken for timidity, and that in fact a grocery store was envisaged in the new rules. But a better policy for the cooperative movement to aim at was production, rather than distribution:

"The working classes of the West Riding are beginning to understand this power for the employment of labour, and I fondly hope that the successful organization of a Flour Mill Society will be a prelude to a better state of things in other departments.

"The social condition of the people will be more improved by the attainment of the profits of the manufacturer than of the shop-keeper, and I think it wise to aim at being manufacturers rather than being distributors. The greater employment of labour ought to be the test of usefulness."⁹⁹

The majority of members of the Flour Society, however, thought otherwise, and had no such enlarged view of what cooperation implied. It was not until 1853, and after a great struggle, that the title of the Society was changed to "The Leeds and District Cooperative Flour and Provision Society"; and when, in 1854, an attempt was made to give effect to this change by entering into the wider field of cooperation, the advocates of the new policy were told to go outside the Society if they wanted to carry out such changes. This they proceeded to do; and a "Provisional Committee", including Hole, Green, Gaunt, and Lloyd Jones, was set up. The prospectus of the new "Leeds Cooperative Society" announced that it was "to be formed as soon as one thousand shareholders are enrolled", and Rule 4 stated that:

"The Profits will not be dribbled away in Bonuses, but the whole will form an accumulating Fund, for the further development of the Cooperative Principle, and the Employment of Working Men by means of their own capital."¹⁰⁰

The thousand shareholders, however, were not forthcoming, and the minutes of the Provisional Committee, which began on 26th September 1854 finished on 21st February 1855. Thereafter, the members returned to the fold of the parent Society, and Hole and Lloyd Jones were made Directors again. The following year a store was finally resolved on, and Hole and Lloyd Jones were members of the committee appointed to carry this out. Hole had been made a Director at the General Meeting on 30th January 1856, but apparently he did not attend committee meetings after that date; and his name disappeared from among the active officials of the Leeds Society.¹⁰¹

It was through his work as an active cooperator that Hole came into contact with the Christian Socialists. The latter had not known of the Leeds Redemptionists when they started their Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations in 1850,¹⁰² but after Lloyd Jones had joined them as a propagandist to tour the northern counties a link between the two bodies was formed. Reports of the Redemption Society and the Flour Mill appeared in the *Christian Socialist*, and during his northern cooperative tour in the Autumn of 1851 J. M. Ludlow met Hole, Lees, Holmes, Eggleston and Green in his visit to the Flour Mill and the Redemption Society.¹⁰³ Christian Socialist principles exercised some influence among Yorkshire cooperators,¹⁰⁴ and Viscount Goderich (later Marquis of Ripon), a local patron and active supporter of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, was a Christian Socialist. When the Cooperative League was formed by the Christian Socialists in 1852, as a national body to coordinate and extend the work of association, Hole, Holmes, Lees, and Eggleston were among the fifty-seven members,¹⁰⁵ and in the preface to the *Transactions of the Cooperative League*, 1852, Hole's suggestion (in his *Lectures on Social Science*) for a national union of associations was welcomed, and "his excellent lectures on Social Science" commended.¹⁰⁶ It was the Christian Socialists too who succeeded in fulfilling an earlier but unrealised ambition of the Redemptionists in getting the law amended in the Industrial and Provident Societies Act of 1852.¹⁰⁷

Hole's interest in and support for the Cooperative Movement continued throughout his life. He was on the first Central Board of Cooperators, appointed at the 1869 national Congress, and took his place alongside the national figures in the movement such as Thomas Hughes, A. J. Mundella, Lloyd Jones, William Allen, Robert Applegarth, G. J. Holyoake, E. O. Greening, J. M. Ludlow, and William Pare.¹⁰⁸ That he was regarded as one of the most important figures in the early history of the Leeds Society is apparent from the obituary in the *Leeds Cooperative Record*, and it was mooted that a scholarship might be established "as a fitting tribute to his memory";¹⁰⁹ but this did not materialise.

(3) Social Theory — *Lectures on Social Science and the Organization of Labour.*

The Leeds Cooperative Society and the Redemption Society were for Hole the practical expression of social principles which he was at pains to elaborate in lectures, articles, and pamphlets. Mention has been made of his articles in *The Herald of Cooperation* (1847-8), and of his association with *The Truth Seeker in Literature, Philosophy, and Religion* (1846-8). But his most complete elaboration of these views was in a collection of essays, published in 1851,¹¹⁰ under the title *Lectures on Social Science and the Organization of Labour*. These had appeared previously in *The Truth Seeker and Present Age* (1849-50), and were probably the same lectures which Hole had delivered in Leeds earlier.¹¹¹ In 1867, *The Cooperator*¹¹² printed three articles by Hole, all of which had appeared some twenty years previously in the *Herald of Cooperation* and subsequently in the *Lectures on Social Science*.¹¹³

On publication, the *Lectures* were highly praised by Socialists, Associationists, and Radicals. The review by Charles Robert Walsh, under the pseudonym of "Jacob", in the *Christian Socialist*, began "This is a very remarkable book", and concluded by heartily recommending it to readers¹¹⁴; while later in the year J. M. Ludlow could describe it as "certainly the best and wisest handbook of Socialism that I am aware of, in any language . . ."¹¹⁵ Henry Solly recommended it for Working Men's Clubs; and it was claimed that

"Louis Blanc holds this work in high estimation, as the best in the English language on the organization of labour."¹¹⁷

Dr. Hook, the Tory-Radical Vicar of Leeds, said it "was the best book he had ever read on the subject."¹¹⁸ Even *The Economist*, in a hostile review by Thomas Hodgskin, had to admit that

"This volume is . . . unquestionably an able and eloquent exposition of the opinions of the Socialists."¹¹⁹

As in his earlier "Address" in the *Herald of Redemption*, Hole begins his case with a critique of contemporary capitalist society:

"... the progress of population, the increased power of multiplying wealth, the clearer perception of the rights and duties of human beings, have introduced new *problems* into the art of governing society. The result of these causes, to the mass of the people, has been, gradually to isolate them from that intimate relationship with their employers which prevailed in former times. The principle of supply and demand has been extended from *commodities* to *men*. These have obtained thereby more liberty, but less bread. They find, that in parting with the thralldom of Feudalism, they have taken on that of Capital; that slavery has ceased in name but survived in fact. They behold enormous wealth arising around them,

created by their toil, which they are nevertheless not permitted to share. While warehouses are glutted with corn and cloth, the labourers are pining with hunger and perishing with cold. They see the means of present subsistence precarious, and the future of old age they dare not reflect upon. They see that pestilence, and war, which thin their numbers, are looked upon as blessings. And did they not possess the knowledge that God is good, and has sent enough for all his creatures, they might be tempted to enquire — WHY they were called into being?"¹²⁰

The "laissez-faire, or 'let-alone' doctrine" of society is clearly a failure from whatever angle it is viewed. Competition exposes men to the variations of the seasons, and prevents the adaptation of production to consumption. It diminishes profits and wages, and occasions the fabrication and sale of inferior commodities. It produces gluts and over-trading, which in turn lead to slumps and unemployment; "Within 24 years five seasons of intense commercial distress have visited this country."¹²¹

But not only is a laissez-faire economy inefficient and inadequate, it is also cruel and unjust. Supply and demand, as the regulating principle of wages is clearly inequitable, for the competition between capital and labour is always weighted against labour, because of over-population (that is, surplus labour). Since the investment of capital is dependent on the whims of private capitalists, the fate of the labourer is always dependent on the caprices of another individual.¹²² The injustice of this system is well shown in the Poor Law figures from 1844 (selected as being a favourable year), when nearly two million people, or nearly one eighth of the total population, received poor relief at some time during the year.¹²³

The Poor Law, moreover, is an example of the absurdity of the doctrines of laissez-faire, for "on the free principle that capital and labour can best protect their own interests, the poor law should not exist at all." Its very existence is an admission that supply and demand alone are not to be trusted.

"The Poor Law as it is, therefore, is the mongrel offspring of a lingering humanity and an incomplete laissez-faire-ism. The former was too strong to let the latter have full play. It would shock English sympathies to proportion the supply of labour to the demand *by killing off* the superfluous labourers. Still laissez-faire-ism was too strong to permit humanity to extend any effectual relief. The natural result of these conflicting elements is seen in the curious phenomena of useless stone heaps and Andover torturings."¹²⁴

Again, the impossibility of organizing society on the basis of supply and demand is shown by the increasing need to impose restrictions upon it. The proposals for profit-sharing put forward by Babbage, Messrs. Chambers, the *Morning Post*, and John Stuart Mill; the truck Act; and the restrictive practices of Trade Unions, all illustrate this.¹²⁵

Laissez-faire-ism is, in fact, unjust as a theory, "and to a great extent impracticable."¹²⁶

But schemes for profit-sharing and the like are impossible under laissez-faire, and in any case are too late and do not go to the root of the matter. Likewise private philanthropy is utterly inadequate to deal with the pressing problems of our society:

"Alms to sots and premiums to vagabonds, tend to drag down the artizan. The various forms of charity are good as acknowledging some bond between man and man besides interest, and as indicating, and often alleviating, the evils of the present system; but as *remedies* they are worthless."¹²⁷

Nor is machinery to be either praised or blamed for the present evils of society. New labour-saving machines are indeed sometimes temporarily injurious to certain sections of the working class, as in the case of the handloom weavers or the Bradford woolcombers; and the natural resentment of such workers against the machines has found an ally in those feudal elements in society, who, jealous of the new industrialists, advocate a return to a happy pre-industrial society. It often comes ill to hear the praises of the machine sung by those who benefit most from it; and the efforts of the manufacturers and commercial classes to convince the working class of its benefits are often ludicrous:

"It is amusing to see these popular instructors taking up the cudgels on behalf of machinery. Sometimes, at Mechanics' Institutes and elsewhere, they undertake to convince the incredulous workman of the extreme error of all doubts on this point."¹²⁸

Nevertheless, it is not the machine which is an evil, but the system by which the benefits which the machine brings are obtained principally by the capitalists, instead of being distributed throughout society:

"The task is not to destroy the factory, but to Christianize it."¹²⁹

It is important that we should direct our efforts towards the cure, not of evils which are but the symptoms of a deeper disease, but of that disease itself,

". . . the nature of which may be expressed in two sentences. First, the masses of society are depending on capital not their own. Second, that they are increasing faster than the capital which employs them."¹³⁰

For Hole,

"the great problem, which, in this age, has to be solved, either by or for the toiling people is, how to bring the material means of happiness within the reach of every human being?"

and he goes on to observe that

"It may be humiliating to our just pride in the more refined and spiritual parts of our nature, that they should depend so much on the presence of material comforts. But so it is. Men seldom, and communities never, advance in Morals or Religion, until they have learnt to supply with ease the necessities of their physical nature. Food, clothing, shelter, and the arts that supply them, come first; science, morals, and religion commonly follow. The more labour to supply the former, the less leisure for cultivating the latter."¹³¹

Hole is not a materialist, for he emphasises the primary need of adequate material means precisely because "every man has a moral and spiritual nature waiting development."¹³² But he sees clearly that

"... the mode in which society produces and distributes its material commodities exerts an important influence on its moral state..."¹³³

While recognising the tremendous influence of social conditions on the individual, he rejects Owen's view that man's character is moulded entirely by circumstances:

"Social organization should not be regarded as a substitute for individual self-culture, but only as one of its means. Arrange 'Circumstances' as we may, the God-given soul on which they act, cannot be *formed*."¹³⁴

What then is the answer to these evils of society, and the need for distributing more equitably the material wealth of the community? Hole replies, triumphantly — cooperative socialism. His interpretation of this term, however, is somewhat elastic; and within the definitions which he ventures could be accommodated the sentiments of social reformers, varying from Owenite communists to radical Liberals. Thus, in the opening passage of the *Lectures* in which he proclaims that although almost everybody is afraid to be thought a socialist, in fact there are few to whom the epithet does not really belong, he states:

"Wherever there is an attempt to introduce the laws of justice and kindness into social relations — wherever it is endeavoured to render society more *fitted* to the wants and nature of man — wherever wisdom and love preside over the politics and economics of mankind — *there* is Socialism."¹³⁵

But after one hundred and sixty pages of argument, he concludes, on the final page, with a definition which is a good deal more exact:

"The idea that lies at the basis of Socialism is soon exprest. It is, that the workman can never fully secure his own well-being so long as he depends for employment on the accumulations of another — that the land was meant for the race, and not for a few individuals of it — that altho' land and capital are essential to the production of the necessities, utilities, and luxuries of existence, Landlords and Capitalists are by no means necessary. Socialism proclaims that

the life of the masses ought not to be one dull blank, unhallowed by noble thought or lofty sentiment, its course purely animal, swallowed up in the drudgery of labour, or buried in the mire of sensuality."¹³⁶

This is the meaning of socialism exemplified by the Redemptionists, that

"The workman must become master of the powers of capital and land, that is, Labourers and Capitalists must become *Labouring-Capitalists*."¹³⁷

It is with the idea of Association, however, rather than Socialism as more narrowly defined, that Hole is chiefly concerned. It is in this idea, the germ of which he finds pervading contemporary society, that he sees the possibility of future social progress. Redemption societies and cooperative communities are, to be sure, true manifestations of this idea, but the "Associative principle" is by no means confined to them. The national education movement, Free Public Libraries, the employment of paupers in productive labour, Mechanics' Institutes, Flour Mill Societies, communal wash-houses, Friendly Benefit Societies, all contain the germ of Association, and it is from these that we should work towards an improved society.¹³⁸ It is therefore wiser to spend our energies on *practical* association, than on elaborating paper theories and "patent Systems of Metaphysics and paper Phalansteries."¹³⁹ We should concentrate on those reforms for which society is now ripe.

This emphasis on the practical approach (and with it an occasional impatience with theories and paper schemes) was typical of Hole.

"Facts and experience are the demand, the reasonable demand, of the stubborn world. Fact must precede all sound theories and systems."

In illustration of this, he cites the example of the recent vast increase in knowledge about railways, all of which was obtained empirically, through the sheer necessity of overcoming difficulties. And in an almost Marxian phrase, he adds:

"But all this vast amount of knowledge could not have existed anterior to the construction of a railway. It was the emergency which developed the resources. No conclave of philosophers and engineers could have pre-arranged the railway system."¹⁴⁰

It is through their combined, as opposed to their individual efforts, that men can achieve social reform; just as the pyramids and the railways were the product of combined efforts, so can they build our schools, churches and chapels. Similarly,

"Combined efforts build our Mechanics' Institutions and Athenaeums, and give the payer of 3d. or 4d. per week, advantages he could not otherwise obtain for pounds."¹⁴¹

The forms which such examples of Association may take are legion:

"In what forms the Associative power of society will finally manifest itself, it is neither possible nor necessary to predict. We need not lose ourselves in speculating for the future. In social as in individual progress, it is ever the wisest to do efficiently the duty that lies nearest. Effort and Experience will alone accomplish true social reform. Let us but be in earnest, and 'work while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work'."¹⁴²

For the further development of Association, Hole advocates the establishment of a National Union of Associations, managed by a Central Committee. Such a body would concern itself with the collection and dissemination of information about association, and would be ready to give advice and help to new bodies, such as small cooperative stores and friendly societies. It would be capable of giving an aim, "a leading tendency of direction" to associations, which at present they lack; and it would be a powerful organization for negotiating the enactment or repeal of legislation affecting associations. It might employ agents to promote the work, and in fact would be a similar body to the already successful Unions of Mechanics' Institutes, but operating in a wider field.

Association, in its various forms, is the solution to most of the social evils requiring a remedy. Unemployment is to be tackled through the productive organization of paupers; and in the establishment of industrial colonies and parish farms for the unemployed, he finds another example of the successful application of the Associative principle. One instance of such an experiment is that at Farnley Tyas, near Huddersfield, where the able-bodied poor have reclaimed and cultivated several acres of moorland.¹⁴³ Again, in agricultural association Hole sees the answer to the Land problem. But here he is compelled to adopt a much more radical standpoint. Starting from the premiss that private property in land is unjust, since the land belongs to society or the state as its representative (being, like air or sunlight, necessary for everybody), he condemns the English system of land holding (aristocratic) equally with that of the French (subdivided peasant holdings). His ultimate goal is the nationalisation of the land, and its cultivation by agricultural associations. But he is not very optimistic about the realisation of this in the near future:

"The attainment of . . . a rational system of land holding, involves more difficulty. It cannot be secured at once, because society is a progress, not a revolution, and only reaches higher stages by passing through the intermediate ones."¹⁴⁴

This enthusiastic application of the "Associative Principle", when applied to Mechanics' Institutes, Friendly Societies, and "Associated Homes" developed into support for all those various kinds of voluntary

bodies which came to be an integral part of the modern liberal-democratic state in England; though the ultimate goal of an associative commonwealth, based on cooperative farms and workshops, was perhaps nearer to the modern Collectivist than to the Liberal state. Moreover, Hole favoured an extension of governmental activity, both local and central, as opposed to the Voluntarists and their *laissez-faire-ism*:

"The number and variety of the objects cared for in one form or another by the State, is the best argument for the value of its interference. Sanitary matters, and the relief of the poor, are now acknowledged to be within its province. Manchester has charged itself with the duty of providing its gas, and with great advantage. Fire and Life Insurance, public Granaries, Hospitals and Dispensaries, Libraries and Museums, Baths and Wash-houses, public Parks and Picture Galleries, Schools and Colleges, will doubtless ere long be provided by municipal governments. Government manages the coinage, regulates the standard of value of weights and measures, conducts the post office. It assists learned societies and it patronizes art. In short, the functions of the state have increased with the wants of society, and the wants of society increase with the means of gratifying them."¹⁴⁵

In nothing so much as in the question of a national system of education is the inadequacy of Voluntarism manifest. The latter has indeed an honourable role to play in society, namely that of pioneering new ideas and ventures, and providing that help and charity which will always be required no matter how perfectly society be organized. But to expect it to provide for the everyday wants of men is to degrade it. It is the clear duty of the state to ensure for every one of its members the possibility of satisfying his basic material wants.

Anticipating the argument that this would produce a tyranny, Hole is at pains to steer a middle course between the "benevolent despot, à la Carlyle",¹⁴⁶ and the "let alone-ism" of the Voluntarists. He admits the danger to liberty which arises from excessive centralisation, and advocates "a just union of the local and the central principles" as "the only safe medium":

"The local body is more likely to know its own wants than a body acting at a great distance, just as 'a fool knows more of his own house, than a wise man knows of anothers'."¹⁴⁷

But the true safeguard against despotism lies in an educated and informed public opinion, for

"The only effectual mode of arriving at social organization, is by the dissemination of Ideas."¹⁴⁸

Hence the importance of lectures, newspapers, and magazines; for with this safeguard government control will not be any interference with liberty.

Despite his reassurances, however, it was this doctrine of increased governmental activity which mainly drew the fire of the orthodox Liberals. Thus Hodgskin in *The Economist* concentrated his attack on this point, seeing therein the main practicable challenge to orthodox liberalism (while entirely ignoring the more high-sounding schemes of associative communities):

"Mr. Hole infers that it is the duty of authority to regulate more, and regulate better. He is an opponent to '*laissez faire*', or natural organization and natural order . . . All his fine, eloquent observations and apt quotations are pervaded and vitiated by the fundamental error of aiming to regulate society because politicians have aimed to regulate it and have most signally failed. We regret to see great talents so misapplied; and unhappily Mr. Hole is only one of many eloquent and well meaning men who are now most diligent in expounding the error, that by certain acute and cunning contrivances in the interests of the masses — similar to cunning contrivances heretofore made in the interests of the few — the well being of the whole can be promoted. The errors of the Socialists are the reaction, not the correction of the errors of past generations."¹⁴⁹

Undoubtedly the dominant note of the *Lectures* is their optimism.¹⁵⁰ In part this is derived from an historicism of a type made familiar later by Marx. Hole traces the development of society from Feudalism, through Commercialism (or *laissez-faire*-ism) to Socialism (based on the principle of Association), with the resulting conviction of the *inevitability* of the triumph of Socialism. Not only is Socialism more efficient, and superior morally to capitalism, but it is also the inevitable next phase through which society must pass in its evolution: it is in fact emerging before our eyes, through the gradual extension of the associative principle. Hole had no place, either in his historical theory or in his practical suggestions, for revolution and force (though, like many other "moral force" men, he is always prepared to threaten the dire results which will ensue from violence and force if his peaceable ways are rejected).¹⁵¹ He is scornful of the Chartists¹⁵² — and, indeed, why not? when all that they aimed at is within sight of realisation through social reforms such as factory legislation, public health in large towns, popular education, and cooperation. Belief in very real Progress is reiterated over and over again, and each lecture ends invariably with a peroration:

"Will society stop here? No! By that eternal law of progress which will at last rectify every wrong, and vindicate the equal rights of men, the social dependence of one man upon another must cease, as befits the brethren of one family whose origin and destination are the same."¹⁵³

The peaceful nature of Hole's programme of social reform is in contrast with the fierceness of his denunciations of capitalist society.

After the collapse of Chartism, the working class movement was divided and in doubt as to its social, economic and political programmes, and various groups adopted new ideas or clung to old theories in a variety of illogical (or even mutually conflicting) combinations.¹⁵⁴ Hole was very much a product of the 1840's in his social thinking. He owed something to the Ricardian Socialists and more to their Owenite popularisers though he seldom expressly acknowledges their work. John Francis Bray, author of *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy* had lived in Leeds from 1822 to 1842, and his book was published there by David Green in 1839; chapter II being reprinted in 1842 as a cheap pamphlet in the *Labourer's Library*.¹⁵⁵ It is unlikely that Hole, as an ardent young Socialist living in Leeds, was not familiar with the book, which was regarded by Socialists and Chartists as a standard work: and in Bray's demand for "a general remedy — one which will apply to all social wrongs and evils, great and small",¹⁵⁶ and in his thorough condemnation of the institution of private property, there is much that is identical with Hole's critique of existing society. Again, Bray's goal is an Owenite system of community of possessions, but as he realises this is unattainable directly, since men are not yet fitted for it, he advocates as an intermediate stage the creation of communities organized on a joint-stock basis — an idea which, despite differences of detail, would not have appeared unduly strange to the Redemptionists. But Hole does not mention him, and John Minter Morgan, E. T. Craig, Goodwyn Barmby, Thornton and F. R. Lees are the only Owenites and Socialists to whose works he refers. Quotations from Carlyle, Emerson, Henry Taylor, Count Rumford, Harriet Martineau, and Theodore Parker are more numerous than from the English Ricardian Socialists.

The immediate background to Hole's social thought was that of the Owenite movement, which had been immensely important in spreading the early Socialist doctrines of Thompson, Gray, and Hodgskin. Owenite institutions, lectures and periodicals in the aggregate amounted to a sustained propaganda campaign for radical social reform extending over nearly twenty-five years, and by no means exhausted even by 1850. ". . . Ricardian socialism was the yeast of the Owenite movement, and the foundation of all the more able contributions to Owenite literature."¹⁵⁷ It was the Owenite legacy too, that contributed to that optimism already noted; for

"It (Owenism) left the English people saturated with a faith in progress and a tradition of social perfectibility which are still vigorous . . ."¹⁵⁸

It was indeed typical that Hole, while rejecting Robert Owen, should have inherited so much of the Owenite legacy. It was from Owen too that Hole derived his *social* approach to problems; for it was a characteristic trait in Owenism that it refused to accept the division

of society into an economic and political sphere, but insisted on treating man's existence as a totality. It was on these grounds that Hole rejected orthodox Political Economy, for

"... instead of being a science of *Society*, it is only the science of *Wealth*."¹⁵⁹

But it was not necessary to be an Owenite, still less a Ricardian Socialist, to subscribe to many of the efforts of the Associationists. Samuel Smiles, at this time (1846) living in Leeds, in an article, "What is doing for the people of Leeds?" could enthusiastically support such efforts:

"By far the best part of what is doing for the people in Leeds is being done *by themselves*. The help of patronage is good, but self-help is infinitely better . . .

"The great power which seems yet destined to effect the social emancipation of the working classes, is the power of cooperation"¹⁶⁰;

and as examples of this he cites the Friendly Benefit Societies, the Leeds Union Operative Land and Building Society (a building society to enable working men to purchase their own dwellings), and the Leeds Redemption Society.

"Here, then, we have abundant evidences of prudent foresight, sound practical philanthropy, and honest energy of purpose, among the working men of Leeds . . ."¹⁶¹

Owenism, with its insistence on working men attaining real independence through self-governing communities, is here being merged with the middle class doctrine of Self-Help; and it is a characteristic of Hole that in his social theory and activity he epitomises this coalescence. He stands, in the decade 1846-1856, between two different eras; and his significance lies in the adaptation which he made of the social ideas of 1846-1848 to the changed conditions of the later 1850's and 1860's.

III

THE ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT

Parallel with his work for cooperative socialism, was Hole's activity in the adult education movement, which he regarded as yet another agency in the great cause of popular progress and social reform. He frequently cites Mechanics' Institutes as a particularly successful example of the principle of association, enabling working men, through their combined efforts, to obtain benefits for a few pence per week which they could not otherwise obtain for pounds.¹⁶² He has, too, the true Owenite belief in the efficacy of education as a means of social progress for the working classes.

Hole's entry into the field of adult education in Leeds coincided with a turning point in the history of the movement generally. After two decades of effort, there was a widespread feeling that Mechanics' Institutes had not achieved what they had set out to do, namely, provide scientific instruction for artisans. There was a gradual realisation of the need to modify the earlier conceptions of adult education, and a searching for new methods and techniques by the late 1830's and early 1840's. The Leeds Literary Institution had been formed in 1834, ten years after the foundation of the Mechanics' Institute, to supply a want which was not adequately met by the more narrowly scientific outlook of the latter institution¹⁶³; but the indifferent success of the two (almost rival) institutions led to their amalgamation in 1842, when a new and ambitious start was made under the combined title of "The Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society". Another attempt at improved organization was the formation, in 1837, of the West Riding Union of Mechanics' Institutions (from 1841 the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes), starting as a federation of some thirteen institutes.

What was required, however, was not only new methods and organization, but a re-thinking of the aims of the movement. Because of its middle class origins (or, where there was a radical working class element, as in the London Mechanics' Institute, its domination by the middle class), the objects of the Mechanics' Institute movement were framed on *à priori* principles, and had to submit to modification after a period of struggling with the facts.¹⁶⁴ The ideas of the middle class promoters of mechanics' institutes, both as to the type of education suitable and necessary, and the actual capacities and aspirations of the working classes, were not always soundly based; and, indeed, were often derived from a mythical view of the "typical" mechanic

which was a generalised version of such industrial heroes as Watt, Arkwright, and Stephenson. By the time Hole became active in the field of adult education in Leeds (i.e. in the mid-1840's), the realisation of this situation had already produced varying reactions among the leaders of the movement there. There were those (always numerous in adult education movements) who were prepared to adopt the easier course of catering mainly for the lower middle classes (clerks and shopmen), while stoutly maintaining that their facilities were offered equally to all and that artisans could avail themselves of them if they would.¹⁶⁵ Others, while remaining true to the goal of providing workers' education advocated the introduction of more recreation and amusement as a means of attracting the artisan, who, it was now discovered, was too tired for concentrated class study after a long day in the mill or workshop, and who therefore preferred only "pleasurable mental relaxation".¹⁶⁶ Whilst a third group, of whom Hole was the chief spokesman, insisted on clinging to the ideal of class work at a fairly advanced level (particularly in science), and at the same time stimulating the working class demand for adult education by providing instruction at all levels from the teaching of literacy upwards.

Moreover, economic and social conditions were peculiarly favourable for a further advance in the adult education movement at the time of Hole's appearance in Leeds. As A. E. Dobbs has suggested, the most fruitful season for the up-rising of educational enthusiasm is towards the end of a period of industrial depression and immediately before a new wave of prosperity.¹⁶⁷ The natural outcome of depression is social unrest, and visions of a new social order, while a period of prosperity makes for contentment and some degree of complacency. Too much of the former may end in anarchy or despotism, and too much of the latter in the extinction of large ideals. Insofar as adult education was regarded as part of a larger social movement, there is undoubtedly evidence in support of this theory, as the growth of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes shows. For the first nine years of its existence, in the stormy period from 1837, the Yorkshire Union made but little progress; but from 1846, progress was rapid, and continued throughout the 1850's.¹⁶⁸ It is perhaps doubtful whether any adult education movement can retain its efficacy for longer than one generation without some very fundamental re-thinking of its aims and methods; and such a process, if it is to be valuable, inevitably produces strains within the movement. It was at such a period that Hole became active in the Mechanics' Institute movement in Yorkshire.

(1) Leeds Mechanics' Institute.

He was, of course, not new to the Mechanics' Institute movement, for he had been a member of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute in the 1830's.¹⁶⁹ The first official mention of him in this connection in Leeds, however, was in December 1845, when as Secretary of the

Discussion Class of the Mechanics' Institute he made a speech at the class's annual soiree at Scarborough's Hotel.¹⁷⁰ In January 1847 he was elected at the annual meeting, along with William Eggleston (a fellow Redemptionist) on to the Committee of the Mechanics' Institute,¹⁷¹ and from then until 1865, with the exception of the years 1851 to 1855, he served on the General Committee, and on the sub-committees which dealt with the library, lectures, and School of Art.¹⁷² In 1856 he was Joint Honorary Secretary, with John Taylor, for one year; and in 1858 was elected Vice-President jointly with the Rev. G. W. Conder¹⁷³: this office was for two years, and his fellow Vice-President in 1859 was the Vicar of Leeds, the Rev. W. F. Hook.¹⁷⁴ He was again elected Vice-President in 1861, this time with J. J. Cousins.¹⁷⁵ He took a special interest in the School of Art (formerly the School of Design) from 1856 to 1865, and was successively Vice-Chairman and Chairman of the Committee of Management.¹⁷⁶ When the decision was made, in 1864, to publish a monthly magazine of the Institute, Hole was appointed one of the editors; and the *Monthly News of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and Literary Society* ran for sixteen numbers in all, between September 1864 and December 1865.¹⁷⁷

All this activity in the Leeds Institute represents a considerable degree of effort, particularly as Hole was throughout this period also Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, was active in other movements of social reform, and was also writing and publishing works on his chief interests. The General Committee of the Leeds Institute met at least once a week, and sometimes twice; while the Sub-Committees met fortnightly, except when they had special business necessitating more frequent meetings. When Hole left Leeds in 1867, the Leeds Mechanics' Institute set up a special Sub-Committee to collect subscriptions for a testimonial in conjunction with the larger Yorkshire Union scheme for a presentation.¹⁷⁸

(2) The Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.

It was, however, through the larger body of the Yorkshire Union, that Hole's main contribution to adult education was made; and it was on his twenty years as Hon. Secretary of this, the most successful of all the efforts made before 1870 to organize adult education as a movement, that his reputation as an authority on adult education was based. Coming into the Yorkshire Union at the beginning of its expansion, he remained its Hon. Secretary for the next twenty years, during the period of its growth and greatest accomplishment. His services included not only central administration and guidance on general policy, but also participation in the regular weekly activities of the Institutes. He lectured, gave addresses at soirées, and chaired meetings throughout the West Riding, and this steadily from 1848 to 1867.¹⁷⁹ His lectures were usually on machinery and the working class, the

employment of leisure time, and the philosophy of association; though in 1852 he offered "Astronomy, illustrated with diagrams",¹⁸⁰ and in 1860 he lectured at Leeds on the life and character of Dr. Johnson.¹⁸¹ Even after he had left Leeds, his interest continued; and he returned in 1873 to read a paper on Evening Classes at the annual meeting of the Yorkshire Union, held that year at Saltaire.¹⁸²

The circumstances in which Hole became Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Union were not altogether straightforward. On the retirement of the previous Hon. Secretary, J. W. Hudson, Ph.D. (who went to the Athenaeum, Glasgow), a proposal was put forward by the Ripon Mechanics' Institute that henceforth the Secretary should be paid.¹⁸³ Hudson had been the paid Assistant Secretary of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, and had apparently carried out the duties of Secretary to the Yorkshire Union in an honorary capacity. A resolution empowering the Central Committee to engage and pay a secretary was consequently passed at the annual meeting of the Yorkshire Union in 1848; and it was under these terms that Hole was appointed secretary.¹⁸⁴ He did not, however, receive a salary, but only an "acknowledgement", since he acted only in a part-time capacity. The accounts for 1848-9 and 1849-50 show an expenditure of £15 as "Acknowledgement to Secretary for Three Quarters' Services".¹⁸⁵ But from 1850, with the appointment of Thomas John Pearsall as the first full-time paid agent and lecturer of the Union, the "acknowledgements" to the secretary ceased; and henceforward that office was honorary.

The annual reports of the Committee of the Yorkshire Union, drawn up by the Hon. Secretary, and read at the annual meeting (and subsequently printed) reveal clearly the identity of their author. The series of reports from 1851 to 1855 are especially fine in their clarity, and critical, forthright approach to the problems of the movement; and the general views (sometimes, indeed, the very phrases)¹⁸⁶ in them are identical with those in Hole's Society of Arts Prize Essay, published in 1853 as *An essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions* . . .¹⁸⁷ From these two sources Hole's conception of the nature and problems of the adult education movement in the early 1850's becomes clear.

His starting point is the realisation of adult education as not only remedial (to remedy defects in an imperfect earlier education), nor as merely social ("public instruction as a prevention of nuisance"),¹⁸⁸ but as a definite stage in the educational process.

"Education is not an affair of childhood and youth, it is the business of the whole life. The infant and day school but commence education. The education that should cease with youth would soon pass away as a dream."¹⁸⁹

And again,

"... education is not the work for one or other of the stages of our existence; it is a work for life; and he must be differently constituted to others, and the generality of mankind, who has accomplished this, and with time to spare."¹⁹⁰

Moreover, education is not a privilege, to be graciously bestowed on the lower classes by their betters in such a degree as is from time to time considered appropriate, but a *right*. Mechanics' Institutes, more than any other institution have helped to form a sound public opinion as to the necessity and duty of popular education:

"They have established the right of the people to culture — more primary and pressing than the right to labour or the Franchise; a right great as the right to live, since it makes life worth living for."¹⁹¹

Hole makes a distinction between liberal and vocational adult education, but considers that Mechanics' Institutes should cater for both types. The two-fold character of adult education for the artisan is that of "General" and "Industrial" instruction:

"What then is the instruction which Mechanics' Institutes *should* offer to the working classes? The answer is twofold. There is an instruction which they should receive to fit them for the position of members of a civilised community, and there is an instruction specially adapted to their individual vocations."¹⁹²

Or, as a much quoted contemporary slogan put it, the object of Mechanics' Institutes was "to make the man a better mechanic, the mechanic a better man."¹⁹³ By a "general" education, Hole meant that it was not sufficient to teach only reading and writing, since these are only the tools with which to begin the real job. The need was for a general educational background, to enable the working man to orientate himself in society, and for this the teaching of history, physiology, and the laws of the body were necessary. In support of the case for "industrial" education, Hole uses the old argument of the need for an educated working class if we are to retain our world supremacy in manufactures and commerce, and successfully compete with the skilled artisans of Prussia and France; particularly is this so in chemistry and design. By industrial education is meant not the teaching of particular trades in workshops, but instruction in the *principles* of arts and sciences. This teaching would be of value to artisans in different trades,

"and, above all, there is obtained from the mental discipline which study brings, something far more valuable than the subject matter wherein it is engaged — a strong and self-reliant intellect that can adapt itself to the varying emergencies of life."¹⁹⁴

This is the ideal to be aimed at, but the reality fell sadly short of it. Hole agrees with his contemporaries, Hudson,¹⁹⁵ and Smiles,¹⁹⁶

that Mechanics' Institutes have "failed" in the sense that they have not realised all the expectations of their founders. They have with only one or two notable exceptions, failed to attract any significant proportion of the working class, and instead have catered for the lower middle class clerks and shopmen; instead of classes in science, their main activity has all too often been the provision of popular lectures and amusing social activities; and democratic control of the institutes has been frustrated by middle class dominance on the boards of directors. But, unlike some contemporaries, Hole does not propose to acquiesce in this altered state of affairs, nor to abandon attempts at working class adult education. Admittedly Mechanics' Institutes have shown the necessity rather than supplied the want for adult education; but the remedy is not to abandon the old ideals, but rather to devise new and more efficient methods of implementing them, through existing institutions.

Thus, the failure to attract large numbers of the operative class, should not lead to counsels of despair:

"We are far from considering the fact that the benefits of Mechanics' Institutes have been derived by a class for whom they were not originally contemplated, as a matter of regret. It shows simply that another large class needed their advantages and were prepared to meet them. They did not deprive the working man of anything. If clerks and shopkeepers had not joined the Institutes, the operative would have no more participated in their benefits than he does now, perhaps much less, since, in many cases, there would have been no such place open to him at all. It shows that there were difficulties in the way of realising the objects proposed by the founders of Mechanics' Institutes which they had not contemplated.¹⁹⁷

The fundamental cause of this failure to cater for the working classes was their deficiency in primary instruction, which effectually barred them from participating in the advantages of the lectures and classes offered by Mechanics' Institutes. This was recognised as early as 1840, and was subsequently reiterated in successive annual reports of the Yorkshire Union.¹⁹⁸ Hudson's view (frequently quoted later) that the lower middle class virtually drove out the artisans from Mechanics' Institutes finds no support from Hole¹⁹⁹; nor is he prepared to tolerate any suggestion of inherent inferiority in the working classes to appreciate higher culture and intellectual pursuits:

"The full capacity of the people has never yet been tried. Prior to the present generation, works on Education always meant the education of the gentleman, or the man raised by position above the necessity of labour. And even the term itself meant but the acquisition of the dead languages, and certain accomplishments. We are now learning to think that *all* may get at least some education, and by that term we are beginning to understand something

more than the knowledge of words which have ceased to be spoken many centuries ago. Until the mind of the people has been properly trained, it is absurd to deduce from their apathy a natural antagonism to their intellectual culture.”²⁰⁰

Hole recognised that this lack of working class primary education meant that Mechanics’ Institutes would for the present at any rate, have to do what the school should have done, that is, provide elementary instruction in the three Rs. For this reason he had, as early as 1848, seconded a resolution for the establishment of an evening Mutual Improvement Class for teaching reading and writing, at the Leeds Mechanics’ Institute.²⁰¹ But this was to be only a temporary phase in the work of Mechanics’ Institutes, necessary until that prerequisite of all higher culture — a sound foundation of national primary instruction — had been established. Until Mechanics’ Institutes could become truly the colleges of the people which Hole intended them to become, they would have to undertake elementary teaching. But they should never allow this, or the need to draw working men by means of lighter and more amusing attractions, to obscure the real aim of the movement, which was the provision of more advanced education.

Of the three methods commonly used by Mechanics’ Institutes in their work — the Library, the Lectures, and the Classes — the last is infinitely the most valuable. Despite the fact that contemporaries usually regarded the Libraries as the most successful aspect of the work of the Institutes, Hole realises the inadequacy of unguided reading for the mastering of the principles of a subject:

“... the action of our institutions has been all in the direction of increasing the amount of *reading*, while study has had to take care of itself.”²⁰²

The lecture, as a means of instruction, is even less satisfactory than the library, particularly for working men. Its educational value to the artisan is low because it takes no account of the student’s background, and is usually disconnected (instead of being integrated with reading and class instruction). Hence, “it is in the classes we look for the remedy”, and it is these which

“... best indicate the skill and energy thrown into the management, and the value of the Institution as an educational agency.”²⁰³

Only in the class-room can the teacher really come into close contact with the student, and thus help him to master the discipline of study:

“The class teacher grapples with ignorance, hand to hand, the lecturer fights with it at a distance.”

But, as always, the maintenance of standards in adult education was not popular in many quarters of the movement, and its advocates

had to raise their voices both in strong condemnation of contemporary practices, and in proclamation of their own ideals. Thus the *Annual Report* of the Yorkshire Union for 1855 contained a vigorous and lucid statement for the case for standards in the educational work of Mechanics' Institutes. In small places libraries, news-rooms, and miscellaneous lectures serve a useful purpose, but in large towns something more is required. It is not sufficient merely to afford the means of passing away the leisure hours innocently. "Young men, especially, have to be *educated*, as well as amused."²⁰⁴ Desultory evening lectures — "now a single lecture on chemistry, and now a dramatic entertainment — this week a lecture on geology, and next week a concert" — are inadequate for this. The only effective educational method for working men is that of study:

"If their minds are to be brought into actual contact with the world of thought and knowledge, which it is the mission of these Institutions to reveal to the artisan, or if he is to have the discipline more valuable than knowledge, it can only be by the attention being actively concentrated on the subject presented to it."

Moreover, the subjects of study should be limited, and concentrated, not discursive. The limitations of the working man's academic equipment are often pleaded as an excuse for a "dissipating course". But in fact, this is the very reason why the latter course is unsuitable:

"The limited portion of time which young men in business can bestow upon the cultivation of their minds, is the very reason why extra care should be taken to make the time so spent as rich in results as possible, and this can only be done by class instruction. Neither the library, the news-room, the lecture, nor all of them combined, can supply the absence of class instruction, because none of them can so bring the mind into intimate relation with the knowledge to be acquired."

The primary task of Mechanics' Institutes is to provide instruction in certain departments of knowledge, and

"... neglect of this cannot be compensated by the provision of any amount of miscellaneous reading or Lectures. These, indeed, unbalanced and uncorrected by any discipline in some special studies, rather weaken than strengthen the mind, and are, in fact, the very cause of the so much lamented tendency to desert the Lecture Room, when anything demanding attention, or the least exercise of thought, is presented."

Lectures alone make little demand upon the members, and do not therefore provide a basis of sound support for an Institution:

"Institutions which rely upon other attractions than their educational efficiency, possess little vitality, have no strong hold on the affections of the Members, who are constantly changing, and are

most subject to fluctuations. But the humblest Institution, the majority of whose members are in its Classes, is characterised by a vigour and enthusiasm quite refreshing . . ."

Nevertheless, the way of study and class provision is a hard one, and it is not to be wondered that many take the easier path of providing amusement rather than education; the more so, since amusement usually assumes the title of instruction, and frequently those who provide it get almost as much credit by the counterfeit as they would by furnishing the reality.

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One of the common arguments used against those who in their day seek to maintain high standards in adult education is that they are not "realists", that they expect the impossible from the working man, and are, in fact, divorced from the real wants and needs of the ordinary citizen. Such a charge cannot be sustained against Hole. He sought not to restrict the activities of Mechanics' Institutes so much as to put those various activities in their correct sequence, so that the emphasis lay on the most valuable and worthwhile. Although study, and particularly the teaching of science, is the primary task, the Institutes should cater for the whole man and not merely for the workman. Despite the obvious dangers, they should provide facilities for rational amusement and entertaining evenings, as it is better to do this than leave such provision to less desirable types of institution. For instance, it is proper for Mechanics' Institutes to provide news-rooms, for the working man will resort to the pot-house to read if he cannot do so elsewhere. Moreover,

"to raise the working man we must take hold of him where he is, not where he is not. Attract him, get possession of him, and you may lead him by degree to something better. Those who are students will, when suitable teachers are obtained, find their congenial employment — those who are not, will at least find harmless ways of spending time."²⁰⁵

On the all-important question of finance, Hole is even more down-to-earth. He states bluntly that the working class pay too little to ensure efficient Institutions. The annual report of the Yorkshire Union for 1853 shows that out of 13,000 members, in 81 Mechanics' Institutes, whose subscriptions were classified, over 8,000 pay under 2d. per week, and 6,000 (nearly one-half) under three halfpence per week. The total income of 103 Mechanics' Institutes in the Yorkshire Union in 1852 was £8,452, or an average of £82 per Institute. This is clearly inadequate, since it only just covers the cost of rent, gas, fires, books, periodicals, and cleaning; and thus leaves nothing for teaching costs. It is not true that the working class will not pay more for their education; if they are convinced that they are really getting value for their money they are prepared to pay adequately, as the examples of the successful Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute,²⁰⁶ and Sheffield People's College show.²⁰⁷

"The experience of successful Institutes sufficiently shows that considerable numbers of the working classes may be obtained, where good instruction is offered to them, and that they will pay a proportionately higher sum for a good article than for a middling or inferior one."²⁰⁸

Nevertheless, contributions from the wealthy are not to be despised. It is useless to say that Mechanics' Institutes *ought* to be self-supporting: men ought to be virtuous, but they are not; and that does not exempt us from an obligation to try to improve them. The working man will never support his own college until he is educated — in the meantime he must be helped to attain this. To talk airily of being self-supporting is not being practical:

"It rounds a speech to talk of the virtue of 'self reliance'. But practical men who wish for *results*, who want those results to be independent of temporary excitement and occasional spasmodic revivals, will prefer permanent improvement to rhetoric."²⁰⁹

The Mechanics' Magazine, in the early days of the London Mechanics' Institute, boastfully rejected all governmental and upper class help; but subsequent events proved the emptiness of this boast.²¹⁰

It is important, however, that the contributions from the wealthy should be used correctly. They should not be used merely to reduce the working man's subscription from 4d. to 2d.; this does not improve the efficiency of the Institute one jot.

"The true principle is for the working man to contribute at the highest rate he can fairly afford; and as this may not provide means of instruction so good as is desired, let whatever aid he receives go to increase its *effectiveness* — in short, give him a *better* article for the *same* money, rather than a *worse* article at *less*."²¹¹

Yet even with aid from the wealthy, it is doubtful whether Mechanics' Institutes can be self-supporting. Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute, which is the nearest to a self-supporting working class institute, out of an income of £650 last year, received £143 from persons who did not participate in the benefits of the institute.²¹²

"Self-supporting in the proper sense of the word these Institutions are not, they are all assisted, to a considerable extent, by those who derive no direct benefit from them. The only question is, whether they shall receive adequate support or not — a support not dependent on whim, caprice, or prejudices, but on the perception of their merits, and therefore a support to be relied upon . . ."²¹³

The present system is one of make-shift and second-best, and is likely to remain such unless outside aid is forthcoming. Town councils would be suitable bodies to afford such funds for adult education; but nothing is to be hoped for from them at present, as they are more concerned with keeping down expense than with promoting social progress (for

instance, they have the power to establish museums and libraries, but few avail themselves of it). Assistance from the central State authority is therefore the only recourse left. State grant to assist the industrial education provided by Mechanics' Institutes is required — and as some aid is already given to Schools of Design, no new principle is involved. State assistance, however, cannot be looked for to aid the general education provided by the Institutes, since this is more personal, and sometimes less serious in intention. But it is perfectly proper and necessary for the state to aid Mechanics' Institutes in what is, after all, their original and most important task, the provision of scientific education for working men; since this is part of the general welfare and prosperity of the whole country. The idea of a new Industrial University, recently proposed in the *Athenaeum*,²¹⁴ is to be welcomed; and indeed the plan should be extended to include the Mechanics' Institutes of the provinces as branch colleges of the central Industrial University in London.

Hole's passion for business-like efficiency in administration, already noted in connection with the Redemption Society, and occurring again later in his relations with Henry Solly in London, finds its way into the annual reports of the Yorkshire Union, and colours his views on various aspects of its work. In 1852, the conductors and friends of Mechanics' Institutes are reminded that

“... however disinterested and exalted the objects for which they labour, the conditions of successful management are not different from those which govern the most ordinary affairs and businesses of life. The same remark, indeed, applies to all kind of association for bettering the condition of the working classes. Order, regularity, proper division of labour, the proportioning of expenditure to income, are as essential to the one as to the other.”²¹⁵

For this reason, paid teachers are on the whole preferable to voluntary ones. The services of gratuitous teachers are necessary and to be welcomed; but they should not be relied on solely. The first essential for any improvement in the main work of Mechanics' Institutes is the provision of properly qualified teachers; and he agrees with Dr. Hook, that these can be obtained only by payment, since intellectual power, when duly cultivated, has its marketable value, and the best article is not to be had for nothing.²¹⁶ This applies equally to elementary and to more advanced instruction. The backbone of the work must be that of paid, professional teachers; but in addition, local part-time lecturers should be used to the full, since our educational resources are not so perfect that we can afford to despise help from any quarter: local doctors, lawyers, clergy, and schoolmasters, especially in the villages, should be called on to help with lectures; those without real talent will soon be weeded out, and the remainder will provide a useful corps to supplement the full-time lecturers.

On this question of the relative roles of full and part-time teachers and lecturers, however, Hole does not regard the latter as something to be tolerated only because of the impossibility of having all the work done by full-timers. There are often certain virtues in the part-time lecturer which are valuable in themselves, more particularly a knowledge of the needs of his audience, and an ability to satisfy them which is not always found in the expert from outside.

"Gratuitous lectures, delivered by persons residing in the locality of the Institution, are now more than four times more numerous than the paid ones, and though we would gladly see this proportion in some degree changed in favour of the latter, the gratuitous lectures neither should nor can be dispensed with. Experience convinces us that, in small towns and villages, a familiar lecture by an amateur pleases better than one by a scientific man, unless the latter possesses the rare qualification of conveying his information in the simplest manner."²¹⁷

The plan of a paid agent and lecturer (started by the Yorkshire Union in 1850)²¹⁸ is an excellent one, and contains the germ of something much larger — in fact, ultimately, a National Union of Mechanics' Institutes. It is desirable that there should be at least one course of lectures by a paid lecturer at each Institute in each season: these lectures might well be, in the first instance, on local trade, manufactures, and staple products; and would require a staff of paid lecturers. The programme envisaged for such lecturers should be such as to enable work of a high quality to be done:

"The size of the district visited at one time, should not be greater than sufficient to give the proper treatment of the subject at each. Suppose four lectures were given per week — and no one ought to be expected to give more — four places would be selected lying near to each other, and one lecture be delivered at each place in regular succession on the like day of the week. When the lecturer had finished his course he should go to the adjoining locality and proceed over the same course in four other Institutes, and by the end of the lecture season he would have gone through the whole of his district. The following winter he might visit another district. In summer he would have leisure to prepare his lectures."²¹⁹

The idea of a national union of Mechanics' Institutes, or of a wider National Union of Associations, was attractive to Hole.²²⁰ It was part of his "philosophy of association",²²¹ which he inevitably carried over into his work in the Mechanics' Institute Movement. If an educational institution such as a successful Mechanics' Institute was itself an instance of association, conversely many social institutions had an educational influence:

"There are some agencies which, though they cannot be classed as schools, have an educational influence of the most powerful kind.

That view of education which limits it to mere scholastic instruction, is narrow and incomplete. Let anyone analyse the influences that have formed his own character, and he will find he has had many more 'schools and schoolmasters' than those which commonly pass under those names. Just so with any community, whether comprising a nation or town. Whatever tends to render the conditions of social existence more favourable — physically, intellectually, or morally — has an *educative tendency*."²²²

Hole the Redemptionist was thus the natural counterpart of Hole the Honorary Secretary of the Yorkshire Union; and it is not surprising that in February of 1847 the *Herald of Redemption* was available in the reading-room of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute.²²³

(3) The Yorkshire Union Village Library.

Yet it was not as a Redemptionist, nor for his book on Mechanics' Institutes, that Hole was chiefly remembered after he left Leeds, but as the originator of a scheme for the provision of libraries in the rural parts of Yorkshire. The obituary notices in 1895 referred to him firstly as the Honorary Secretary of the Yorkshire Union, and secondly as the originator of the village library scheme²²⁴; and his name was perpetuated in the "James Hole Box" of books presented to the Village Library in 1868. The scheme was essentially simple, namely the provision from Leeds of boxes of some fifty books to villages in Yorkshire which had a group of persons willing to pay a small sum weekly for the use of such books, the boxes being changed every six months. It was an attempt to extend the work of the Mechanics' Institute Movement into areas and among classes hitherto untouched by the normal activities of the Yorkshire Union, and to meet the needs of the rural areas for adult education.

The idea was apparently first advocated by Samuel Smiles, in an article in *Howitt's Journal* in 1847,²²⁵ in which he described the successful "Itinerating Libraries" of Samuel Brown which he had known in his boyhood days at Haddington, in East Lothian. Smiles repeated the details of this in his evidence before the Select Committee on Public Libraries, in 1849, and his advocacy of itinerating libraries was supported by the honorary secretary of the Yorkshire Union (then James W. Hudson), and William Lovett.²²⁶ But the first practical steps to introduce the scheme into Yorkshire were taken as a result of a proposal which Hole made to the Central Committee of the Yorkshire Union, and which he published in a letter to the *Leeds Mercury* in 1852.²²⁷ After urging the need for the Yorkshire Union to extend its work into areas where no Mechanics' Institutions at present exist, he cites the successful examples of such libraries in Scotland and Cumberland (through the efforts of the Northern Union of Mechanics' Institutes), and then suggests that a start might perhaps be made in

Yorkshire with a thousand volumes supplied to some ten centres, the books being exchanged every six months. The advantages of such a plan would be, firstly, that such a Library might be rendered almost, probably entirely, self-supporting, after the expenses of its first establishment had been defrayed; secondly, the selection of books being in the experienced hands of the Committee of the Yorkshire Union would ensure their suitability for the objects in view; thirdly, no public agitation, such as is necessary for starting a Mechanics' Institute, would be required, since one competent person in a village willing to take charge of the Library would be sufficient; and fourthly, the establishment of such a Library would be likely to attract additional help from local sources, and might well lead in due course to the formation of classes and the nucleus for a Mechanics' Institute. Hole's scheme was accepted, a committee formed, subscriptions collected from aristocratic patrons and middle class supporters, and the Yorkshire Union Village Library established on 1st September 1852.

The scheme was launched with over 1,700 books, which were distributed in boxes of fifty volumes to some thirty villages. Fifty books were allowed to each group of twenty-five subscribers, who paid one penny per week, and the boxes were changed every six months. Ten per cent. of the subscriptions were paid to the local librarian, as an acknowledgement for his services, and the cost of the boxes and their carriage was borne by the Central Committee.²²⁸

Contemporary with this development by the Yorkshire Union, however, were two other similar but independent ventures along the same lines.²²⁹ In January 1853, as a result of the efforts of Lord Carlisle, the Castle Howard United Villages Itinerating Libraries began to function in the villages around the Castle Howard estates. By the end of the year the scheme was operating in nine villages in this part of the North Riding, with a total of 550 books. The success of the venture depended largely on the exertions of Mr. Ishmael Fish, who actively promoted new library centres, and who lectured on a variety of topics. In the same year the East Riding Sub Union set up a Library Mission to operate an itinerating lending library, on the plan "so ably advocated by James Hole, Esq." These schemes, like that of the Yorkshire Union, flourished mightily for the first few years, while the novelty was still strong. But by 1857 their fortunes were at a low ebb, and in 1858 they were amalgamated together into the Yorkshire Union Village Library.

Hole's original idea of putting forward the scheme of travelling libraries was not merely to provide reading material for the villages, but to use the libraries, when established, as a means of extending the work of Mechanics' Institutes in rural areas. It was a practical example of his belief that adult educational methods must be flexible, and must be adapted to the different needs of different sections of the

people. G. S. Phillips, the Agent and Lecturer of the Yorkshire Union, attempted to use the Library as a means of organizing new centres in Craven, the Dales, and around Ripon, during the winter of 1853-4²³⁰; but by 1856 the Committee reported that in only three cases since the beginning of the scheme had the libraries led to the formation of Mechanics' Institutes.²³¹ Nevertheless, despite the low fortunes of the Library in 1857-9 and 1864-6, the prospectus continued to repeat that the scheme was "extremely valuable in aiding the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes, by temporarily providing an important element."²³² But after the revival of its fortunes in 1868 the Library added a new function to its original ones, namely, supplementing the libraries of existing Mechanics' Institutions, by providing fresh books at a comparatively small cost. The Yorkshire Village Library thus ran true to type — like so many institutions for adult education, both before and since, having come upon a period of difficulties a few years after its commencement, it gradually modified its original aims until it finally settled down to providing some educational service, which though of undoubted value, was not what it set out to do.

IV

SOCIAL REFORM IN LEEDS

Reviewing the first year's work of the *Herald of Cooperation* in 1848,²³³ Hole had noted that the various branches of social reform were progressing — educational, sanitary, and temperance. But he had deprecated reformers who were interested in only one of these; and while admitting that a man should concentrate his main attentions on a single cause, he suggested that he should make his sympathies as widespread as possible. The "associative principle" was active in them all — they were all parts of a larger whole. This view was shared by most contemporary radical social reformers, and it enabled men with differing religious and political views to cooperate for the advancement of their own particular schemes for social reform. Thus in periodicals such as *Howitt's Journal* and the *People's Journal* a common platform was provided for advocates of educational reforms, temperance, friendly societies, working class housing, cooperative stores, mutual improvement societies, and a host of voluntary activities united only by a general desire somehow to further "the elevation of the people". At times this attitude amounted to a general belief in universal reform, a sympathy and support for almost any cranky scheme on the grounds that *all* reform was automatically good in itself, and would contribute to the general good of the people. Joseph Barker, at this period living at Wortley, near Leeds, in his republican journal *The People*, in an article on "The Comparative Usefulness of Different Classes of Reformers",²³⁴ could argue that it was impossible to say which class of reformers did most good for mankind — "All men do good, who *try* to do good". If men wished to build schools, or reading rooms, or distribute books and tracts, or further the causes of temperance, financial reform, or the extension of the franchise, they should be encouraged to do so. Although we are all "reformers of different stamps", we shall "contribute to one great end — the illumination and salvation of our race."

It was in this spirit (though he was too statesmanlike in his approach to spend much time on Barker's numerous short-lived and pungently expressed proposals) that Hole extended his social activities in Leeds between 1856 and 1867 beyond cooperation and the Mechanics' Institute Movement.

(1) National Education.

Like other enthusiasts for adult education, Hole was compelled to take an interest in education in general, and in particular to consider

the problem of a national system of primary education.²³⁵ This was indeed basic to the whole of his work for social improvement; and he might well have echoed the words of his much-quoted contemporary, Mazzini:

“My whole doctrine is summed up and included in this grand word — *Education*. We do not seek to establish a new order of things through violence. Any order of things established through violence is tyranny. What we have to do is to propose for the approval of the nation an order of things which we believe to be superior to that now in existence, and to *educate* men by every possible means *to develop it*.”²³⁶

The inadequacy of educational facilities was abundantly clear to Hole:

“That the educational efforts of the present day do not reach the lowest strata of society we have abundant evidence. No elaborate statistics are required to show that no educational agencies whatever have reached, or are likely to reach, vast masses of our population; no education, except that which they pick up in the miserable houses and streets in which they grow. The *mere* multiplication of schools would not meet the wants of this class. There are thousands of parents in the lowest districts so utterly careless of the education of their children, who, were it free, would think they rather conferred a favour than fulfilled a duty in sending them to school. Why should we compel vaccination, and yet permit a man to bring up his children utterly ignorant of all that is essential to their future welfare?”²³⁷

This was not an unsupported generalisation, for Hole had in fact investigated just such “elaborate statistics”, and these were published in 1860 under the title, *Light, more light! — on the present state of education amongst the working classes of Leeds, and how it can best be improved*.²³⁸ The work was a prize essay, the money for which had been left by Dr. Hook to the Leeds Mechanics’ Institute on his leaving Leeds in 1859. The essay had to be “on some subject connected with the social advancement of the working classes”, the subject being chosen by the office-holders of the Mechanics’ Institute, and the adjudicators being the Vicar of Leeds, the Headmaster of the Grammar School, and the President of the Institute for the time being.²³⁹

The work was not primarily an interpretation of educational policy, but rather a survey of the existing agencies for educational work of all kinds in Leeds. As the review in the (London) *Working Men’s College Magazine* said:

“The little book to which these last words of Goethe serve as a title or motto is a statistical account of the present state of education among the working classes of Leeds. It is interesting as giving

an estimate of the sum total of educational effort in a place which may be taken as a specimen (rather a favourable one perhaps) of our great provincial towns."

The result of the survey (which covered not only day, Sunday, evening, and secondary schools, but also Mechanics' Institutes, local educational institutes, the School of Art, pauper and criminal education — as well as "social education" resulting from such agencies as popular literature, savings banks, and cheap concerts) was to expose the inadequacy of Voluntaryism for the provision of a national system of education — a conclusion which Hole had already come to a decade earlier.²⁴¹

He does not, however, put forward any comprehensive scheme for state education, nor does he openly advocate state schools. But he repeatedly points out the great benefits of grants-in-aid, and shows how great is the result for such a small sum. Both directly, and by implication, he suggests an extension of Government grants, for

"... taken as a whole, it is questionable if any other system could have effected the same amount of good at so small a cost. It has kept primary instruction in the hands of the best friends of education, and has freed it from the risks which it might have run from political or municipal squabbles. It has left full freedom of action, or inaction, to the various religious bodies, who, whether for good or ill, have assumed the duty of taking charge of the education of the people. Without superseding or weakening the sense of responsibility which parents should feel in the education of their children, it has utilized their contributions, and given them the best practicable system at the lowest possible cost."²⁴²

In his practical work in education, Hole was particularly concerned with technical instruction. His chairmanship of the Leeds School of Art has already been mentioned; and when the West Riding Educational Board was formed in 1859 to supervise the local examinations for Oxford, Cambridge and Durham Universities, the Society of Arts, and the Science and Art Department, he and James Kitson represented the Yorkshire Union on it.²⁴³ The renewed interest in, and demand for technical education in 1866-8 saw him active in supporting Henry Sales' proposals for a Central College in the West Riding²⁴⁴; and he was present at the special conference on technical education called by the Society of Arts in London in January 1868.²⁴⁵

(2) Working Class Housing.

It was when he came to consider the problems of working class housing in Leeds, that Hole found conclusive evidence of the interrelation of educational facilities and social improvement:

"The question of improving the dwellings of the working classes is intimately connected with other social questions, which it is not

our object to discuss here, but which may be briefly indicated. As better houses would make better men, so better men would make better houses.

"The vice and ignorance that beget inferior social conditions are, in turn, reproduced by them. It is a fruitless discussion; with which set of means shall we *begin* the work of reform? Begin with *both*, with *all*, with *any* . . .

"Among the indirect agencies which will tend to the social elevation of the working classes, and with it to improve their habitations, are two principal ones — Temperance and Education."²⁴⁶

The problem of working class housing in Leeds was not merely a matter of building more and better dwellings for artisans; its roots went to the bottom of the new industrial society which had been developing so rapidly in the previous forty years. The enormous growth in population in such a short period²⁴⁷ had rendered totally inadequate all the existing facilities for urban living; under the weight of sudden numbers there was a material breakdown of urban society, reflected in the conditions of public health, housing, water supply, and poor food.²⁴⁸ Large sections of the population in Leeds lived in a state of complete and utter *poverty*, and the old distinction between the "poor" and the "working class" disappeared for all but the skilled artisans. It was this loss of status, and above all the *indignity* of the new urban life for the working class (resulting from their exclusion from leisure and recreation) which constituted a great problem — not always fully realised — for social reformers. The workers, said a local writer in 1865,²⁴⁹ were regarded by their employers "with no more concern than their steam engines, looms, throstles, and mules", and this was hotly resented by the workers as an "insult to their manhood".

In sharp contrast was the increasing prosperity after 1850 of the middle classes, who, living in an atmosphere of optimism and promise, tended to draw further away from the moods and outlook of the working classes. The widening gulf between the two classes was the concern of many contemporaries,²⁵⁰ who observed how the middle classes were no longer satisfied with houses in the centre of the town, but were moving out to new villas in the suburbs. There was thus a "spontaneous sorting out of the population on a basis of social status"²⁵¹; the town became a series of concentric circles, with the slums and factories in the centre, the respectable working class homes in the next circle, and the suburbs of the middle class on the perimeter. This "physical disintegration of the town into suburbs on a basis of social distinction"²⁵² weakened, if it did not actually destroy, the social bonds of the older community. It removed the comfortable classes from direct contact with poverty, and made them less sensitive and responsive to the needs of the lower classes. As Hole said, the middle class tradesman

"... is not likely so often to leave the pleasant residence to which he has wisely retired after the toils of business are over, two or three miles outside the town, to visit the Sunday or the night school."²⁵³

It was easier to forget the squalor of Holbeck when living in a new villa out along Woodhouse Lane than when occupying an older and more central house in Albion Street. A sociological as well as an economic approach to the problem of working class housing was required; and this (perhaps because of his Owenite background in his youth) Hole was able to provide. He saw the problem in its wider social setting, and not only as a physical problem of house building.

But Hole was in this, as in all his social work, nothing if not practical; and he realised that a block of model cottages would be a stronger argument, especially in Yorkshire, than any number of plans on paper. He had been impressed by the success of Akroyd's housing schemes in Halifax, and when the Leeds Society for the Erection of Improved Dwellings was founded,²⁵⁴ it modelled its methods on those which had already appeared so successful in Halifax. The nine founders of the Society, in addition to Hole, included Alderman Carter, Councillor Gaunt, and John Holmes—all of whom had been Redemptionists, leading members of the Cooperative Society, and members of the Committee of Leeds Mechanics' Institute. The secretary was James Kitson, joint secretary with Hole of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes. The activity of the Society consisted of purchasing small plots of land in Leeds, erecting thereon model houses (at a cost of £150 to £200 per house, inclusive of the land and all expenses), and selling them to working men at cost price. The capital was borrowed, partly from a sympathetic banker and partly from the public, at four per cent., on the joint security of the founders. The house purchaser had to provide one-fifth of the purchase price, and the Leeds Permanent Building Society advanced the remaining four-fifths, the repayment being made in 13½ years. Up to 1866 some eighty-seven houses were built, at a total cost of £15,400. By building in blocks, a reduction in cost was effected, and this was passed on directly to the working class purchaser. The convictions of the founders were embodied in the Society's motto — "As the Homes, so the People".

Hole's approach to the problem was developed in some detail in his prize essay, published in 1866 under the sanction of the Society of Arts as *The Homes of the Working Classes, with suggestions for their improvement*. The Society of Arts had held a Conference on "Dwellings of the Working Classes" in 1864, and the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, to contribute to this subject, decided to promote an investigation of housing conditions in their own town. A prize for the best essay on the subject was offered by the Mayor, J. D. Luccock, who was also President of the Mechanics' Institute²⁵⁵: and in January 1865, Hole's successful essay was publicly read, and published in the local press.

The book as published was an expanded version of this essay, with the details of Leeds put in an appendix. Like his prize essay on education in Leeds, Hole's book contains a mass of detailed statistical information, but it also includes a good deal more of his social philosophy, and in this is more reminiscent of his *Lectures on Social Science*, written some fifteen years earlier. The two works mark the development of an ardent young Associationist, of 1846-51 into a middle-aged radical reformer of 1865.

There is still (in 1865) the same passion for business-like efficiency, and short shrift for unrealistic paper schemes. In the interests of efficiency it may well be that the control of a central authority over local authorities may have to be increased,²⁵⁶ and that the rights of the individual must be curbed where they conflict with those of the whole community—

“ . . . when contemplating an ugly, ill-built town, where every little freeholder asserts his indefeasible right as a Briton to do what he likes with his own; to inflict his own selfishness, ignorance, and obstinacy upon his neighbours, and on posterity for generations to come; and where local *self*-government means merely *mis*-government — we are apt to wish for a little wholesome despotism to curb such vagaries.”²⁵⁷

Hole has more than a touch of the Benthamite worship of administrative efficiency, and the appeal of the new science of social engineering was not confined to the Edwin Chadwicks and Southwood Smiths; through the National Association for Social Science (whose *Transactions* are frequently quoted by Hole) it was possible for many lesser members of the middle class to dabble in the new science of reform, especially as it was both fashionable and easy to do so.

But the earlier belief in the power of the working classes to transform society by their own efforts, which was at the root of the idea of the Redemption of Labour, had by 1865 been considerably modified. When considering how improved dwellings for the working classes might be obtained, Hole listed three possible agencies — employers of labour, the working classes themselves, and the Government.²⁵⁸ His admiration for the efforts of the first of these was based on his experience of the model housing estates built for their employees by Titus Salt at Saltaire (near Bradford)²⁵⁹ and Edward Akroyd at Copley and Akroydon (both near Halifax).²⁶⁰ What the working classes could achieve for themselves Hole knew from his experience of the Society for the Erection of Improved Dwellings, and of the Leeds Permanent Building Society (of which he was a director). And his conclusion was that these two sources alone were inadequate to tackle the problem. Large sections of the working class were too poor either to build houses themselves with the help of a Building Society, or to pay a rent which would be large enough to tempt capital into

housing. The problem stated in its bare essentials was this: a decent cottage in a town cost at least £120 (probably £140-£150) — the cheapest houses erected by the Leeds Model Cottage Building Society cost £150 to £200. Assuming a gross profit of 7 per cent., this, upon £120 would be 3/3d. per week, and, with rates, about 3/9d. per week. A working man earning 24/- to 30/- per week could pay this. But thousands earned only 16/- to 20/- per week, and their maximum rent was about 2/6d. per week — which was insufficient to induce private capital into housing. The problem therefore reduced itself to cheapening the capital required, and Hole saw no way of attaining this save by state assistance, that is, the state making money available at a low rate of interest. Since philanthropy and private interest had failed to meet the needs of the population, and since the poorer sections of the working class could not raise themselves by their own bootstraps, government assistance was perfectly justified. Economically this was a sound appraisal of the situation; but it was a long way from the cry "Not labourers and capitalists, but labouring capitalists".²⁶¹

Indeed, by this time Hole had other solutions for the difficulties of society, such as courts of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed, and co-partnership in industry. At a meeting of the Society of Arts in 1868, at which Thomas Beggs read a paper "On Courts of Arbitration and the principles of cooperation, as means of bringing into harmonious action the interests of capital and labour",²⁶² Hole contributed to the discussion. He described how a dispute between the masons of Leeds and their employers, in which he had acted as one of the workmen's representatives, had been amicably settled by arbitration; and he instanced the case of "Mr. Briggs' Colliery near Leeds", in which strikes had become so frequent that the partners had almost given up in despair, having introduced a system of profit-sharing with their employees in 1865 — the result of which was an immediate improvement in industrial relations in the colliery, and in the morals of the colliers.

Thus by the time he left the town in 1867, Hole had become associated with practically all the chief institutions in Leeds concerned with "the progress of the working class". As that phrase was interpreted by J. M. Ludlow and Lloyd Jones, in a little volume published under that title in 1867, it meant savings banks, friendly and building societies, cooperative stores, science and art classes, Sunday schools, Mechanics' Institutes, libraries, courts of arbitration, and temperance. In all of these Hole had participated,²⁶³ and to some he had given leadership and long service. He left Leeds with his concern for social welfare still strong, and a national reputation as a social reformer.

V

LIFE IN LONDON, 1867-1895

Hole left Leeds to become the agent (or organizing secretary) of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and he held this position until his death, twenty-eight years later.²⁶⁴ In London he continued the work for social reform which he had begun in Leeds; his advice was sought by (and given to) all kinds of reformers; and in later years, as an elder statesman of the cause of social reform, his name was frequently desired for use on prospectuses launching some new scheme for benefitting the working classes. The *Times* obituary could consequently praise him as "a practical philanthropist", while Engels saw him similarly, though without praise, as a "bourgeois philanthropist".

A typical example of his interests at this time was the "Trades Guild of Learning, for the Promotion of Technical and Higher Education among the Working Classes of the United Kingdom", formed, largely through the efforts of that indefatigable and exasperating social reformer, Henry Solly, in 1873.²⁶⁵ The aim of the Guild was to secure the support of the Trade Union Movement for a programme of classes in technical instruction and also in the liberal studies (to which latter end it sought to take advantage of the Cambridge University Extension Lectures scheme of James Stuart). Hole was invited by Solly to become a member of the newly formed Guild, but expressed doubts about it:

"I regret I cannot accept your invitation for Saturday next, and I regret it the more because I mainly approve of its object. The main object of the Trades Guild is to carry out the idea which Birkbeck started at the London Mechanics' Institution exactly fifty years ago, and which I have spent thirty years in Yorkshire in endeavouring to promote. About the importance of the object therefore there cannot be the slightest doubt, but I believe the means proposed will not attain the desired result, and will only prove another of those abortive schemes intended for the benefit of the working classes, but never really reaching them. I believe that no movement intended for their benefit will succeed unless it originates among themselves. None of those who are assumed to speak in the name of the working classes have yet taken part in the movement — they are only 'conspicuous by their absence'. For anything which they really believe in, a working man has no difficulty in finding either money or time. I have no objection to take either the money or the time of the middle and upper classes to help any measure of social improvement, but it appears to me it should be to aid but

not to supersede the action of the working man. Get the Trades Organizations to take up the matter earnestly and I have not the slightest doubt the Science and Art Dept. will do whatever else is needed.

"As to starting a propagandism in the country it seems to me like converting the niggers while there are plenty of heathen at home. The working men are doing far more for themselves in the North than they are in London, and I think you had better try your hand here before you go further afield.

"As soon as I know that the Trades are actively taking the matter up themselves I shall be happy to give my mite of money and time. Until then you must permit me to be a quiet spectator."²⁶⁶

Hole here speaks from the depth of his experience of such efforts. Nevertheless, the next month he was a member of the Council of the Guild, and his name appeared on the Circular announcing a Conference, together with James Stuart, Thomas Hughes, Hodgson Pratt, Samuel Morley, M.P., and A. J. Mundella. Solly, however, quarrelled later in the year with the honorary secretary, and also with the committee, and resigned from the Guild. But, nothing deterred, he continued to found institution after institution for the educational and social salvation of the working classes. Hole — perhaps having been once bitten — fought shy of further commitments with Solly, and played no part in his Artizans' Institute for promoting General and Technical Knowledge (1874), its successor, The Artizans' Association for the Advancement of Technical Education (1882), or his Workman's Social Education League (1887).²⁶⁷ When Solly started his *Workman's Magazine* (a sixpenny monthly intended for working men) in the winter of 1872-3, Hole's name appeared, in company with those of Lyttelton, Morley, Kingsley, Professor Seeley, George Howell, and George Potter, as a supporter of the venture; and throughout 1873 he contributed a series of five articles "On Association".²⁶⁸ In these he repeated the arguments which he had first used many years earlier, but although his faith in association as a method of working class social advance is as firm as ever, he is less sanguine as to what can be *immediately* effected thereby. His main emphasis is on the need for really efficient management in associations, and he warns against expecting too much from a mere penny or twopence per week. Association is such a powerful principle that it has survived despite the blunders and inefficiencies of the past; the courage and class solidarity shown in strikes, hopelessly misguided though they be, show what *could* be achieved if only such effort were put into cooperation instead of class struggle.

In the Cooperative world, Hole continued to be active. He was on the Committee of Management of the Central Cooperative Agency Society (1869-1874), and later a supporter of the Guild of Cooperators. Similarly, his work for improved housing continued in the Adelphi Permanent Benefit Land, Building and Investment Society, of which

he was a director, in company with Mundella, Ludlow, Robert Applegarth, J. B. Leno, George Howell and other trade union and cooperative leaders. The Society for Promoting Industrial Villages (1884), which made an appeal to all working men and enlightened employers who were interested in cooperative farms, cottage farms, allotments, model villages, and associated dwellings, also found a ready supporter in Hole.²⁶⁹ And in his last years he was secretary of the Commons Preservation Society, which was instrumental in protecting Epping Forest, Hampstead Heath, and Clapham, Tooting, and Wandsworth Commons.

His final effort was in yet another field (although one to which he had alluded in his earlier works), namely, the nationalisation of the railways. His book on *National Railways: an Argument for State Purchase*, published in 1893, was recommended for study by the early Fabians²⁷⁰; and even the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, while he considered the book contained "some most advanced views", nevertheless could not but admit that it had "earned credit for the Association" through its excellent qualities.²⁷¹ It shows the same thorough analysis of all the available information, the detailed statistics, the careful refutation of all counter-arguments, and the clear crisp style of his earlier works. Beginning with an examination of the anomaly that the railways are at once private property and public necessities, he ends with proposals for their ownership by the State, so that they may be controlled solely in the public interest. If his condemnation of laissez faire and the competitive system still echo the *Lectures on Social Science*, with their Owenite ring of the 1840's, his detailed proposals for the taking over of the railways by the State are not far removed from the programme of *Let us face the future*.

Hole's case for State ownership of the railways rests fundamentally on his social philosophy, which was, broadly, collectivist in its outlook. But his arguments are almost entirely practical examples, not theoretical assumptions. He is concerned to show that the laissez faire principle, when applied to railways, just does not result in maximum efficiency; it is a wasteful form of organization, which results in the public receiving something far short of the best possible service and yet paying the maximum price for it.

Competition between railway companies results on the one hand in a wasteful multiplication of lines in some areas, and on the other a shortage of facilities in other areas which are not sufficiently remunerative to tempt private capital. The operation of railway rates is inequitable; and the caste system of first, second, and third class passengers results in the most numerous and profitable section of the public, the third class passengers, receiving the worst attention.

Excessive hours of labour by railway staff are not only undesirable in themselves, but are a positive danger to railway safety; and yet

the Trade Unions and the Board of Trade have so far been quite unable to check this abuse. The essence of the matter is that at present the railways are run primarily for the benefit of the shareholders; whereas they ought to be run for the benefit of the community. Owing to amalgamations and working agreements, the greater portion of the railway system is in the hands of a dozen leading railway boards, which are in turn dominated by a handful of powerful men.

"About a dozen obligarchies control the traffic of the country, and though they profess to regard the interests of the community, naturally they regard first and foremost those of their own shareholders. The result is the creation of a number of modified despotisms, well organized and therefore stronger than the whole non-organized trading and commercial community"²⁷²

In fact,

"It may be safely averred that some score of persons control nearly one thousand millions of capital and 20,000 miles of the most important communication of the country."²⁷³

To remedy this state of things Hole proposes that the State should take over the ownership and control of the railways. This could be effected by a gradual transfer, so that the State would ultimately absorb all private lines. The whole railway system could be divided into five non-competing districts, each having as its general manager one of the central board of management; a beginning might be made by putting the whole Irish railways into one such group, and the Scotch into another. Compensation should be paid to existing shareholders; it should be adequate, even liberal; but should not be expected to cover the cost of every folly and fraud of the past. The stocks of the existing companies could be converted into a Government railway consolidated stock, paying a dividend of two and a half per cent.

The main obstacle to this reform of the railways is "an unreasonable distrust of Government interference";²⁷⁴ and once again, as so often previously, Hole does his best to exorcize the spectre of State Despotism. He argues that since Government is now amenable to the popular will, abuses in public undertakings are always susceptible to exposure; and he cites the usual examples of successful state enterprises from the penny post to national education. He is here fighting the same battle as he did almost fifty years previously; he spans the gulf between Owenite Socialism, and the Fabians.

VI

CONCLUSION

Of Hole's personal life, little beyond the outlines of his career and his changes of residence appear from the above material.²⁷⁵ Interest in him is therefore perforce centred on his work and ideas, rather than on his character and personality. Inevitably, this means that from the picture of Hole as a man something vital is left out; the portrait is not rounded and a true likeness. Nevertheless, Hole has a threefold claim to notice; firstly, as a minor figure in the Socialist Movement in the 1840's and 1850's; secondly, as a Radical Reformer and good friend of the working classes (a "practical philanthropist") in the 1860's, '70's and '80's; and thirdly, as a leading figure in the Adult Education Movement from 1845 to 1870.

His lectures and writings on Socialism contain little that is distinctively original; but they do state, forcibly and clearly, the main tenets of those who were described as Socialists in the 1840's.²⁷⁶ It was in their general approach to social problems, rather than in adherence to specific doctrines, that his writings may fairly be described as in the main stream of Socialist thought. His emphasis is on the social, as opposed to the individualist elements in human relations; and in contrast to contemporary competitive society he continually holds up the ideal of cooperation, association, and mutual help. Orthodox political economy he condemns for its narrowly individualist approach, and for its dogma of "natural" economic laws. Like most of the early Socialists whose inspiration stemmed from Owen, Fourier, or Saint Simon, he did not look to political methods for social advance, but believed, on the contrary, that such methods held little hope for working men. This conviction he maintained steadily, from his refusal to countenance Chartism in 1847, to his indifference to the Manhood Suffrage campaign in 1861 and 1866.²⁷⁷ The more fruitful method appeared to him to be that of communitarianism, producers' and consumers' cooperation, and associationism in its variety of forms. Only in his old age, did he turn, in the case of the railways, to nationalisation by the State. Underlying all his social philosophy was the belief that real and fundamental changes in society could be brought about without violence or revolution; and this led naturally to a belief in the value of education, which he regarded not as a privilege, but as a fundamental *right*.

By middle age he had become a typical Radical reformer, a supporter of that plethora of voluntary movements in mid-Victorian

England which mitigated the worst excesses of laissez faire society. In spirit he was akin to (though of a clearer mind than) such people as the Howitts, Dr. F. R. Lees, G. S. Phillips, J. Minter Morgan, and the Rev. E. R. Larken; and his admiration was for the work of such men as Emerson, Theodore Parker, and the Abolitionists. He fitted into that peculiar ethos compounded of undenominational Christianity²⁷⁸ and Owenite-Rationalist, Radical-Temperance influences, which pervaded the pages of *Howitt's Journal*, *The Truth Seeker*, *The Reasoner*, and *The People*, and which was at the root of so many ephemeral schemes for social improvement. It was an intellectual climate favourable to all kinds of social reform, but especially to education and mental and moral improvement; and it was in this field that Hole's most sustained work was done.

His practical work in the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, and in the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes was probably more important than that of any other single person in the twenty years from 1847 to 1867; and the Yorkshire Union was the most impressive in numbers, achievement, and length of life of all the early Adult Education movements before the rise of University Extension. His *History of Mechanics' Institutes* has always been quoted with Hudson's *History of Adult Education* as the chief source of information for the Mechanics' Institute Movement. But Hole's is a much deeper work than Hudson's, in that he has not only digested all the available material on Mechanics' Institutes, but has also given much thought to the problems of Adult Education and its interpretation. His is the first work to conceive of Adult Education as something more than a branch of remedial social treatment for the ills of a painfully maladjusted industrial society. He sees Adult Education as part of a life-long process, with a value of its own, and with techniques and methods requiring just as careful study and investigation as those of any other branch of education.

Ultimately, however, Hole's significance lies not so much in any of these three particular aspects of his work and thought, as in the combination of them. He is an example of a leading figure in the Adult Education Movement whose social philosophy was such as to lead him to a thorough condemnation of capitalist society, and an advocacy of collectivist measures to effect social and economic change. Even in Leeds — that stronghold of laissez faire, Nonconformist Liberalism — the Mechanics' Institute Movement attracted, and was influenced by, men of a different stamp from the Baines's and Marshalls. Hole did not speak of Adult Education for the social emancipation of the working class²⁷⁹; but in his views on Associationism and the value of education to working men he was well on the road towards it.

ABBREVIATIONS

WORKS BY JAMES HOLE :

- Soc Sc* *Lectures on Social Science and the Organization of Labour*. London. 1851.
Mechs Inst *An Essay on the History, and Management of Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions; and especially how far they may be developed and combined, so as to promote the moral, well-being and industry of the country*. London. 1853.
Light *Light, more light! — on the present state of education amongst the working classes of Leeds, and how it can best be improved*. London. 1860.
Homes *The Homes of the Working Classes, with suggestions for their improvement*. London. 1866.
Nat Rlys *National Railways: an argument for State Purchase*. London. 1893.

OTHER WORKS :

- HR* *The Herald of Redemption*. 1847 (January-March).
HC *The Herald of Cooperation and Organ of the Redemption Society*. April 1847-July 1848.
X Soc *The Christian Socialist: a Journal of Association conducted by several of the Promoters of the London Working Men's Associations*. 2 Vols. 1850-1851.
AR YUMI *Annual Reports, Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes*.
AR Lds M I *Annual Reports, Leeds Mechanics' Institute*.
D.N.B. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ The only evidence for the date of Hole's birth is G. J. Holyoake: *Jubilee History of the Leeds Industrial Cooperative Society Ltd.* (1897), 252-3. And on Holyoake's inaccuracy of statement, J. M. Ludlow commented "that if he said he had dined off a mutton chop the chances would be ten to one that it was more probably a beefsteak". — letter, 8 March 1904, quoted in C. E. Raven: *Christian Socialism 1848-1854*, 62. Holyoake also attributes a translation of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* to Hole, in mistake for his (anonymous) translation of Renan's *Life of Jesus*. (See Note 278).

² *Mechs Inst*, 26, 33. He was also a member of a Mutual Improvement Class, and in 1873 he declared, "Speaking personally, I derived more benefit from a Society of this description in Manchester than from all the lectures and classes and books put together, and that was the experience of each member" — from a paper on "Evening Classes", read at the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, Saltaire, 4 June 1873, and printed in the *Workman's Magazine*, 1873, 413.

³ Obituary notice, in *The Leeds Cooperative Record*, April 1895, 4.

⁴ *Leeds Directory*, 1842.

⁵ J. M. Ludlow, in "Notes of a Cooperative Tour through Lancashire and Yorkshire", No. 10, in *X Soc*, 5 December 1851, II, 357.

⁶ Rough Minute Book (MS), June 1849-July 1852, Leeds Cooperative Society — entry for 1849.

⁷ Minute Book (MS), January 1856-January 1860, Leeds Cooperative Society — entry dated 30 January 1856.

⁸ Letter from Edward J. Hole to Alfred Campbell, 6 March 1913, in F. R. Spark: *Memoirs of my Life*, 243.

⁹ Tom Crimes: *Edward Owen Greening*, 36.

¹⁰ *AR Lds M I*, 1858, 17; and 1867, 21, 23.

¹¹ T. Wemyss Reid: *Life of W. E. Forster*, 145.

¹² Frederick Lees: *Dr. F. R. Lees: a Biography*, 275.

¹³ See, *The Truth Seeker in Literature, Philosophy, and Religion . . .*, Ed. F. R. Lees, and G. S. Phillips, 3 Vols, 1846-48, and *The Truth Seeker and Present Age: a Catholic Review*, Ed. F. R. Lees, 2 Vols, 1849-50.

¹⁴ 26 February 1895.

¹⁵ 23 February 1895.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the use of this term, see A. E. Bestor; *Backwoods Utopias. The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829*, vii-viii. As Professor Bestor points out, the two words commonly applied to these community experiments are "utopian" and "communistic", neither of which is sufficiently accurate for purposes of historical analysis. "Utopian", ever since its use in *The Communist Manifesto* of 1848, has become a tendentious term in party polemics; and "Communism" in 1840 was used to denote two quite different things — "a system in which property is held in common, and a system in which reform is attempted through small communities. Reference books have ordinarily been guided by the first concept in their definitions, and by the second in their examples" — *op. cit.*, vii. Contemporaries, however, had a more exact term, and from 1840 the word "communitarian" (also "communitarianism", and, two years later, "communitive") was used to describe these experiments. Derived from "community", these words "came to signify primarily a system of social reform based on small communities" — *op. cit.* viii. It is in this sense that the word is here used.

¹⁷ *The New Moral World: or Gazette of the Universal Community Society of Rational Religionists*, published in Leeds from 13 July 1839 to 9 October 1841.

¹⁸ Mark Hovell: *The Chartist Movement*, 317.

¹⁹ Holyoake: *op. cit.* 4.

²⁰ From the Rules of the Bury General Labour Redemption Society, in *X Soc*, 14 December 1850, I, 54.

²¹ Benjamin Jones: *Cooperative Production*, 96.

²² *HR*, April 1847, *HC*, May, November, 1847.

²³ *HR*, February 1847.

²⁴ *HC*, July 1848.

²⁵ Holyoake: *op. cit.*, 2.

²⁶ *HC*, July 1848: Lees: *op. cit.*, 46. Green had also been an active Chartist; and was a member of the first (provisional) committee of the Leeds Working Men's Association, formed in the Autumn of 1837, on the model of the London Working Men's Association, for political agitation for universal suffrage—*Leeds Times*, 2 September 1837.

²⁷ *HC*, July 1848.

²⁸ Dr. F. R. LEES (1815-1897). Born at Meanwood Hall, Leeds, the son of a Radical Schoolmaster. From 1832 a lifelong Temperance worker; he was editor of the *Leeds Temperance Herald* (1837); and editor and proprietor of the *British Temperance Advocate and Journal*, 1840-44. Adopted Christian-Chartist views, and refuted Owenism in public discussions and pamphlets, 1836-39. Awarded a Ph.D. degree by Giessen University for his refutation of Owenism and for his studies on Bible wines. Ed. *The Truth Seeker*, 1846-50. Elected to Leeds Town Council, for Holbeck Ward, as a Chartist. Was Radical parliamentary candidate at Ripon (1860), N. Northamptonshire (1868), Northampton Boro' (1868), and Leeds (1874). Advocate of factory reform, anti-slavery, abolition of the taxes on knowledge, and manhood suffrage. See Lees: *op. cit.*

²⁹ WILLIAM HOWITT (1792-1879). Of Derbyshire Quaker descent, he married Mary Botham, daughter of a prosperous Quaker of Uttoxeter, Staffs. In 1823 he set up as a chemist and druggist in Nottingham, but his main interests were literary. An active "liberal", he became an Alderman of Nottingham in 1834. In 1840 went to live at Heidelberg for the benefit of his children's education, and while there acquired a knowledge of German, Swedish, and Danish literature. On his return to England (1843), he undertook the editorship and publication of *The People's Journal* (1846), and *Howitt's Journal* (1847-8) (continued, after a quarrel with his co-editor, John Saunders, as *The People's and Howitt's Journal*, 1848-51). From 1848 to 1852 he lived in London, and in 1852-4 visited Australia. On his return, he and his wife became Spiritualists, and arranged seances at their Highgate home. In 1865 he received a pension from the Civil List of £140 p.a.; and in 1870 settled in Rome, where he died. His wife remained in Rome after his death, and later joined the Roman Church; she died in 1888. Both Howitt and his wife were prolific writers, and produced works both individually and jointly. Her works included poems, children's stories, translations from Swedish and Danish rural works, natural history and America. Howitt's books and articles were on rural life, Germany, Australia, spiritualism, poems; the best known being the *Book of the Seasons* (1831), *A Popular History of Priestcraft*, (1833), *The Rural Life of England* (1838), and a *Popular History of England*, 5 Vols. (1856-62). See: *D.N.B.*: George Paston: *Little Memoirs of the Nineteenth Century*, (1902), 325-376.

³⁰ REV. EDMUND ROBERTS LARKEN, M.A. (Trinity College, Oxford); Rector of

Barton-by-Lincoln, and Chaplain to Rt. Hon. Lord Monson (to whom he was related). A "liberal Churchman", he advocated cooperation and factory reform, publishing a pamphlet on the Ten Hours' Question. He contributed to *The Truth Seeker*, and was part-proprietor, with Thornton Hunt, G. H. Lewes, and G. J. Holyoake of *The Leader*, (1850). Took an interest in Mechanics' Institutes, and contributed a MS Lecture to the collection of the YUMI Died 1895. See: G. J. Holyoake: *Sixty Years of an Agitators Life*, I, 237; *HR*, February 1847; J. McCabe: *Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake*, I, 161.

³¹ JOHN MILL. Unitarian Domestic Missionary in Leeds — was active in the Cooperative movement, and wrote a series of "Cooperative Fables" in *HC*. Was a friend of Joseph Barker in 1848, and lectured at Mechanics' Institutes in Yorkshire, 1849. See: *The People* (Ed. J. Barker) 1848, I, No. 17, 135, and *AR YUMI*, 1848, 1849.

³² WILLIAM EGGLESTON. An accountant of Leeds — a pioneer of the Leeds Cooperative Society, and President in 1851. Auditor (1849), and Joint Hon. Sec. (1850), of Leeds Mechanics' Institute. See: Holyoake: *History of Leeds Cooperative Society*, 24; *Minutes and AR*, Leeds Mechanics' Institute, 1849, 1850.

³³ ROBERT MEEK CARTER. Born 1814, at Skeffling, East Riding, of humble origins, and was self educated. Active in the Leeds Cooperative Society, and a member of the Board in 1849. Member of Leeds Town Council for Holbeck Ward, 1850, and an Alderman in 1862. Active in the promotion of improved working class housing, 1860, and a leader of the Leeds Manhood Suffrage Association, 1866. Liberal M.P. for Leeds, 1868-74. While in London he was closely associated with Henry Solly's various educational and social efforts in the later 1860's and early 1870's. He was President of the *Beehive Newspaper* in 1869, and worked on this with Solly and George Potter. His business was that of cloth finisher and coal merchant, and in 1874 he persuaded the Leeds Cooperative Society to invest £15,000 in Tipton Green Colliery, Staffs. Upon the failure of this venture, he was ruined financially, and went to America, but returned shortly afterwards. An active member of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, he was on the Committee in 1855 and 1856, and again from 1861 to 1863. See: Holyoake: *History of Leeds Cooperative Society*, 249; Spark: *Op. cit.*, 177-180; *AR Lds MI*, 1855-1863; Solly Collection of MSS, Vol. V.

³⁴ LLOYD JONES (1811-1886). Born at Bandon, in Ireland, came to Manchester in 1827, where he followed his father's trade of fustian-cutting, "then an independent and well paid craft." He became attracted to the Owenite Socialist movement, started a Cooperative Store in Salford, 1829-31, and was recognised as one of the leaders of Owenite Rationalism, and a Social Missionary (1838) in Lancs. and Yorks. He lived for some time in Leeds, but then moved to London, and became a Master Tailor in Oxford Street. While there he came into contact with F. D. Maurice and the Christian Socialists (1849), and in 1850 he was engaged by them as a propagandist for their Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, and did much work for the cause of cooperation in the North. A successful journalist, he later became connected with the *Newcastle Chronicle* and unsuccessfully contested the Chester-le-Street Division of Durham in 1885. He lectured for the YUMI, (1855), and was the author of *The Life, Times and Labours of Robert Owen*, and (with J. M. Ludlow) of *The Progress of the Working Class, 1832-1867*. Holyoake described him as "the best public debater of his day", and said that he "had a good presence and a fine voice". He was a life-long Secularist, and a great book collector. See: *D.N.B.* (article by Holyoake); Ludlow: article in *The Economic Review*, IV, 39-42; McCabe: *op. cit.*, passim.

³⁵ JOHN HOLMES. A draper, of School Close, Leeds; a close friend of Hole, Lees, and G. S. Phillips, and an active cooperator. He contributed a series of letters on the Leeds Flour Mill Society, to the *Leeds Mercury*, April, May, 1852; and was the author of several pamphlets on cooperation, i.e.: *The Economic and Moral Advantages of Cooperation* . . . (Leeds), 1857; *A Few Plain Words of Advice respecting the future conduct of the members of the Leeds District Flour and Provision Society* . . . (Leeds), 1860; *The Economic Advantages of Cooperation Substantiated*, . . . (Leeds) 1860. He was active with Hole in the promotion of improved working class housing; and also supported the Leeds Manhood Suffrage Association in 1866. A believer in arbitration in industrial disputes, he investigated and reported on the West Yorkshire Coal Strike of 1858 (See: his paper on the West Yorkshire Coal Strike in *Report of the Committee upon Trade Societies*, published by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, (Bradford Meeting), 1859. Cf. also *The Coal Question: a correspondence between H. Briggs, Son, and Co., and John Holmes on the differences existing betwixt the coal masters and their men* . . . (Leeds), 1863; *A Plea for arbitration; a letter addressed to the West Yorkshire Miners*. (Leeds) 1874. J. M. Ludlow, the Christian Socialist, who was friendly with him for many years, had a

high opinion of his services to the working class movement — "He was a very clever little man, full of pluck and go, a staunch friend of the working class, though never pandering to them, and though I believe sharp enough in matters of business, very liberal both of time and money for any object that interested him. Latterly he became greatly devoted to Ruskinism, lectured upon art subjects, and having got together a quantity of archaeological and other bric-a-brac very handsomely presented it to the town. But he had one misfortune and one foible, both of which grew on him with age — a defective memory, and a large share of vanity." These defects caused differences of opinion between him and Ludlow, particularly over an incident in connection with Briggs & Co.'s profit sharing scheme, and this led to the ending of their friendship. (Chap. 27, Ludlow's MS Autobiography, in the Ludlow Papers, Cambridge University Library, Add. 7348).

³⁶ WILLIAM CAMPBELL. Born at Woodhouse, Leeds: a working tailor by trade. Connected with the Cooperative Movement from 1834 "when Mr. Craig was at Ralahine." He was the first manager of the Leeds Cooperative Society's Clothing Factory, 1859, and a Director of the Society in 1875-6 and in 1886. He was a non-smoker and total abstainer. See: Holyoake: *Op. cit.*, 248; Lees: *Op. cit.*, 46.

³⁷ EDWIN GAUNT. Of humble origins, he became a successful hat, cap, and clothing manufacturer. Attended the Zion Sunday School, Leeds, and was an active cooperator, being Secretary of the Leeds Cooperative Society, 1850-53. Assisted Hole in promoting improved working class housing in the 1860's. Became Mayor of Leeds, 1887, when he was knighted. A supporter of the Leeds MI, and a lecturer for the YUMI. See: Holyoake: *Op. cit.*; Lees: *Op. cit.*, 46; *AR YUMI*, 1853.

³⁸ WILLIAM BELL. Born 1819 at Poston (near Driffield, E.R.), the son of an agricultural labourer; became a manager in a bolt and screw factory. Joined the Leeds Cooperative Society, 1853, and was President in 1860, 1871, and 1880; he was the originator of the Society's Educational Committee. Active in the Leeds Liberal Party. See: Holyoake: *Op. cit.*; Lees: *Op. cit.*, 46.

³⁹ JOHN HUNT. Born 1819. Joined the Leeds Cooperative Society in 1848, and was President in 1862. See: Holyoake: *Op. cit.*, 222.

⁴⁰ *HR* February 1847. There is also an account of the soirée in *Howitt's Journal*, 23 January 1847, 7, which includes Dr. Smiles and G. S. Phillips among the platform party. For G. S. Phillips, see M. Phythian: "January Searle in Yorkshire", article in *Journal of Adult Education*, No. 1, Vol. I, 1926, 145-157.

⁴¹ The information about the paper in this paragraph is taken from the files of the *HR* and *HC*, a copy of which is in the Manchester Central Library.

⁴² *HR*, January 1847. All quotations in the following three paragraphs are from this article.

⁴³ *HC*, July 1848.

⁴⁴ *The Spirit of the Age* was projected by Robert Buchanan, Alexander Campbell, and Lloyd Jones; and was later sustained by Edward Search (legal adviser to Owen), and edited by Holyoake. However, it only lasted for three months. See: Holyoake: *History of Cooperation* (1908 Edn.) 559-560.

⁴⁵ *HC*, July 1848. Article, "The Termination of the Herald."

⁴⁶ One result of this is that there is a gap in the regular record of the activities of the Redemption Society from the cessation of the *HC* in July 1848 until the resumption of regular reports in the *X Soc* in Feb 1851. Occasional reports appeared in other journals such as O'Connor's *National Instructor* (28 December 1850) and in the *Leader*.

⁴⁷ *People's Journal*, 1846, 341. Article by Howitt — "Letters on Labour to the Working Men of England."

⁴⁸ *HR* January 1847.

⁴⁹ *HC* July 1848.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hole's similar insistence on the need for business-like efficiency in Mechanics' Institutes.

⁵¹ *HC* July 1848.

⁵² *HR* January 1847.

⁵³ *X Soc*, 25 October 1851, II, 266.

⁵⁴ *People's Journal*, 1846, 338-342, Article by Howitt.

⁵⁵ *HC* August, September 1847.

⁵⁶ *HC* July 1848.

⁵⁷ *HC* May 1848. Also reprinted in Jones: *Cooperative Production*, 104-5.

⁵⁸ *HR* January 1847.

⁵⁹ *National Instructor*, 28 December 1850, 507-8. Lees' visit was also described in *The Leader*.

⁶⁰ 5th Annual Report of the Redemption Society, in *X Soc*, 8 February 1851, I, 117.

⁶¹ *X Soc*, 31 May 1851, 244-5.

⁶² *X Soc*, 25 October 1851, II, 266.

⁶³ Letter in *X Soc*, 31 May 1851, I, 244-5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ See Report in *X Soc*, 21 June 1851, I, 270.

⁶⁷ A copy of this four page pamphlet, *Fourteen Days' Propagandism: What to Say*, is among Ludlow's pamphlets in the Goldsmiths' Company Library of Economic Literature in the University of London Library. The following quotations are from pp. 2, 3 of this pamphlet.

⁶⁸ Cf. the figs. for differential mortality in Leeds supplied by Baker to the Sanitary Commission in 1842 (in, *General Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, 1842, 159) *Leeds Boro'* :

No. of Deaths.		Average age of Deceased.
79	Gentlemen & persons engaged in professions, & their families	44
824	Tradesmen, farmers, & their families	27
3395	Operatives, labourers, & their families	19

⁶⁹ For details, see below, Note 89.

⁷⁰ Cf. also the Public Debate in the Music Hall, Leeds, on 30 July 1851, between the Rev. Mallinson (Wesleyan Minister) and Dr. Lees. Mallinson objected to the Redemption Society as unjust, inefficient, and infidel. (collecting pence on Sundays); — *X Soc*, II, 88, 105.

⁷¹ Held on Sunday afternoon, July 27th — *X Soc*, 9 August 1851, II, 89-90.

⁷² *X Soc*, 23 August 1851, II, 120.

⁷³ E.g. at Pudsey, where a society with similar aims, "The Pudsey Redemption Society" had been started by "the communists." *X Soc*, 20 September 1851, II, 184.

⁷⁴ *X Soc*, 8 November 1851, II, 299.

⁷⁵ *X Soc*, 16 August 1851, II, 105.

⁷⁶ *X Soc*, 15 November 1851, II, 314, and 29 November 1851, II, 344.

⁷⁷ *History of Leeds Cooperative Society*, 3-4.

⁷⁸ *Journal of Association*, 3 January 1852, 13.

⁷⁹ Jones: *Cooperative Production*, 109.

⁸⁰ Printed in *HC*, July 1848, 160-4. *The Fourteen Days' Propagandism: What to Say*, however, did promise that in the Community members' children would be educated so that they would become accomplished members of society.

⁸¹ See Bestor, *Op. cit.*, Chap. 6 for a discussion of this question. Contemporary Communitarians such as Goodwyn Barmby ("The Christian Communist") and James Pierrepont Greaves ("The Sacred Socialist") were interested in education to the extent of running small schools on advanced lines.

⁸² See Hole's reference to them in *Soc Sc*, 140, and Howitt's article in *Howitt's Journal*, III, 384.

⁸³ *HR* February 1847.

⁸⁴ Bestor: *Op. cit.*, 3-4.

⁸⁵ Cf. Bestor: *Op. Cit.*, 228.

⁸⁶ Local attacks on Owenism concentrated on these aspects of his doctrines. Cf. Dr. F. R. Lees' exchange of polemics with the Huddersfield Owenite, John Hanson, in 1838-9 — *Owenism dissected* . . . (Leeds) 1838; *The Owenite anatomized* . . . (Leeds) 1838; *The Burial of The Owenite* . . . (Leeds) 1839. Also the Rev. John Eustace Giles' lectures on Owenism, delivered in the Baptist Chapel, South Parade, Leeds in the Autumn of 1838 — *Socialism, as a religious Theory, irrational and absurd* . . . (1838); *Socialism, in its moral tendencies, compared with Christianity* . . . (1839).

⁸⁷ Cf. Hole: *Soc Sc*, 157. He also quotes from an article on "Social Utopias" in Chambers' *Papers for the People* which refers to recent communitarian experiments in America.

⁸⁸ The *HC* published articles on all of these — Cf. pages 125, 145, 139, 39, 45, 41, 69, 55, 109, 158.

⁸⁹ The Chartist Land Scheme aimed at establishing individual peasant small holdings. Members of the Land Company purchased shares in the Company by instalments of from 3d. to 1/- per week, each paid-up share entitling them to an acre of land plus the necessary capital equipment. Subscribers balloted for the land, and those in occupation paid a yearly rent of 5 per cent., calculated on the capital cost. See: G. D. H. Cole: *Chartist Portraits*, 329; Hovell: *Op. cit.*, 277. Hovell also refers to other rural land schemes at this time — *Op. cit.*, 275 (note i). The Chartist *Northern*

Star for the most part ignored the activities of the Redemptionists; though in the issue of 17 October 1846 there was a report of a series of Saturday evening meetings in Leeds to hear a discussion on the relative merits of the Redemption Society and the Chartist Land Scheme. The general objection of the Redemptionists to the Land Scheme was that it was not safe, i.e. was not enrolled. This difficulty was a very real one, and in the *Northern Star* of 31 October 1846 O'Connor, in his weekly editorial address to the members of the Land Scheme, referred to doubts on the score of non-enrolment, by non-members. After explaining that the Attorney General had refused to certify the rules for enrolment under "the new act", O'Connor announced his decision to register the Land Scheme as a joint stock company, under the designation of "The Chartist Cooperative Land Company".

⁹⁰ The idea of home colonization for paupers was widely mooted by reformers. Owen's original "Plan" of 1816 had been intended as such a scheme for the relief of the unemployed. Hole advocated it as an example of Associationism (*Soc Sc*, 76). Dr. Hook (Vicar of Leeds) together with J. G. Marshall and W. Beckett, M.P., formed a society to promote a scheme of allotments for the relief of distress in Leeds in 1843 (*New Moral World*, 1 April 1843). At Farnley Tyas, near Huddersfield, a scheme of home colonization for paupers, based on spade husbandry, had been started in 1842 (*National Instructor*, 21 December 1850, 481-4). Cf. also *The Labourer's Friend, a Magazine for disseminating Information on the advantages of Allotments of Land to the Labouring Classes, and other means of improving their condition* . . . 1841-1846. Hook was also a supporter of J. Minter Morgan's scheme for a Church of England Self Supporting Village, based on the Owenite "parallelogram" plan, but with the addition of a church and a clergyman. — See: *The Church of England Self Supporting Village, for promoting the religious, moral and general improvement of the Working Classes, by forming establishments of three hundred families on the land* . . . (n.d.) But circa 1848. For evidence of the general Radical support for home colonization, see Maccoby: *English Radicalism*, I, 342, 404.

⁹¹ The object of the Freehold Land Societies was to buy land for subdivision and sale to artisans, who thereby became enfranchised as 40/- freeholders. The movement grew rapidly. In 1850 there were 80 Societies with 30,000 members; in 1852, 130 Societies with 85,000 members. 19,500 allotments of sites worth at least 40/- per year had been made, and £790,000 had been paid in. (J. E. Ritchie: *Freehold Land Societies; Their History Present Position, and Claims*, London, 1853, quoted in Gillespie: *Labor and Politics in England, 1850-1867*, 95). The movement was received cautiously by working class radicals. Thomas Cooper, for instance was not opposed to it as a land scheme, but as a means of suffrage he rejected it, because it attached the vote to land instead of to the person. See *Cooper's Journal*, 1850, 33-35; also a letter from William Peplow of Stafford, *ibid.*, 149.

⁹² *HC* May 1848. Hole (*Soc Sc*, chap 6) defended the use of machinery; and one of his favourite lectures to the YUMI was on "Machinery and the Working Classes". This belief that mechanisation could be a blessing, instead of a curse, since it would save laborious and disagreeable toil, was in line with Owen's views on the subject. (Cf. Bestor: *Op. cit.*, 75).

Since the number of Redemptionists actually resident on the estate was so small (inevitably a severely limiting factor in what could be accomplished) it is difficult to determine exactly what type of communitarian society was ultimately envisaged. Samuel Smiles had in mind the creation of a number of small freeholds, on which working men could build a cottage (*People's Journal*, 1846, 139), but Green in 1851 was suggesting a greater effort to extend the idea of "pure community of Property" (*X Soc*, 31 May 1851, 244-5).

⁹³ Holyoake: *History of Leeds Cooperative Society*, Chap. 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁹⁵ *Rules of the Leeds District Flour Mill Society*, Wortley, 1847. (Copy inserted in the Book of Rules and Policy Decisions 1847-1856 (MS) of the Leeds Cooperative Society.)

⁹⁶ "The People's Mill of Leeds" — an account in a letter, dated 4 January, 1851, from Leeds, in *X Soc*, 15 February 1851, I, 123.

⁹⁷ MS Records, Leeds Cooperative Society:—

Book of Rules and Policy Decisions, 1847-56

General Minutes, March 1847-May 1849

Rough Minute Book, June 1849-July 1852.

Minute Book, January 1856-January 1860.

⁹⁸ *X Soc*, 15 February 1851, 123.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, October 1851, 234.

¹⁰⁰ General Book: Minutes from 1854 to 1876. This MS minute book of the Leeds Cooperative Society, in fact, contains only the prospectus and minutes of the Provisional Committee, from 26 September 1854 to 21 February 1855.

¹⁰¹ Minute Book, January 1856-January 1860.

¹⁰² The inspiration for the Christian Socialists' schemes for cooperative workshops came almost exclusively, through Ludlow, from the French experiments of 1848-9. In his article on the Christian Socialist leaders in *The Economic Review*, (1893), III, 486-8, Ludlow explicitly states that they owed nothing to earlier British Socialists and cooperators, of whose work they were for the most part quite ignorant. It was only after Lloyd Jones joined them (1849) that contact with the cooperative experiments in the North was established.

¹⁰³ Account in Ludlow's "Notes of a Cooperative Tour through Lancashire and Yorkshire", No. 10, *X Soc*. More detail is given in Chap. 27 of Ludlow's MS Autobiography (Ludlow Papers, Cambridge University Library, Add. 7348). As a result of this tour Ludlow brought the Leeds Cooperators into more direct touch with the Christian Socialist movement. From it also sprang Ludlow's friendship with W. E. Forster, whom he met at Rawdon, and whom he drew towards cooperative ideals. "From this time" says Ludlow, ". . . we Christian Socialists looked upon Forster as a sort of outside ally."

¹⁰⁴ The Bingley, Bradford, Halifax, Leeds, Middlesbrough, and Yeadon Cooperative Stores all corresponded with the central organization of the Christian Socialists. See: *Transactions of the Cooperative League*, 1852, 105-110; and *Journal of Association*, 3 January 1852, 5; and 17 January 1852, 22.

¹⁰⁵ See: *Transactions of the Cooperative League, formed March, 1852, to promote the Scientific Investigation of the principles of Cooperative Action, with a view to their application in practice.* (3 Parts) London, 1852. The copy of this pamphlet in the Goldsmiths' Company Library belonged to William Coningham, M.P., (who was the Treasurer and chief instigator of the League) and contains a MS list of the members. These included, in addition to the Leeds members, such names as Lord Goderich, E. V. Neale, J. E. (Shepherd) Smith, G. A. Fleming, Thornton Hunt, Robert Owen, Louis Blanc, Thomas Hughes, Charles Bray, John Finch, George Dawson, William Newton, and William Pare — a mixture of Christian Socialist cooperators, old Owenites, and Radical reformers.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁷ The Redemptionists had tried to get the law concerning cooperative associations amended in 1848. A public meeting was held in Leeds, and a deputation sent (4 May 1848) to the Home Secretary, who, though sympathetic, took no action. When the Christian Socialists took up the issue again in 1851, they were supported by the Leeds cooperators. See: Raven: *Op. cit.*, 289, 297; *X Soc*, 2 August 1851, II, 75.

¹⁰⁸ Holyoake: *History of Cooperation.* (1908 Ed.) 567.

¹⁰⁹ *Leeds Cooperative Record*, April 1895, 4.

¹¹⁰ By JOHN CHAPMAN (1822-1894), a Radical publisher of 142, Strand, London. He was the editor and proprietor, from 1851, of the *Westminster Review*; and had friendly, social or business relations with many Radicals of the day, including George Eliot, Emerson, J. S. Mill, F. W. Newman, Louis Blanc, Carlyle, George Combe, J. A. Froude, G. H. Lewes, Harriet and James Martineau, and Herbert Spencer. See: *D.N.B.*

¹¹¹ Mentioned by Holyoake: *History of Leeds Cooperative Society*, 5.

¹¹² See *The Cooperator*, 1 April 1867 ("On Communism in the Results of Labour"), 15 April 1867 ("The Economics of Trade") and 1 May 1867 ("The Morals of Trade").

¹¹³ See: *Soc Sc*, Appendix I, J, K.

¹¹⁴ *X Soc*, 22 February 1851, 135, and 1 March 1851, 143. Also Raven: *Op. cit.*, 123, 377 (for the identity of "Jacob").

¹¹⁵ *X Soc*, 5 December 1851, 357.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 31 May 1851, 246.

¹¹⁷ Advertisement for the book in E. T. Craig: *History of Ralahine and Cooperative Farming*, 206.

¹¹⁸ Holyoake: *History of Leeds Cooperative Society*, 5.

¹¹⁹ 1 March 1851, 235. The authority for ascribing this unsigned review to Hodgskin is Halévy: *Thomas Hodgskin*, (1787-1869), 214-219. Hodgskin had by this time long ceased to be the Socialist that he had been in the 1820's and 1830's, and had become (1846) an orthodox Liberal writer on social science and political economy in *The Economist*.

¹²⁰ *Soc Sc*, 5.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

- ¹²² *Ibid.*, 14-24.
¹²³ *Ibid.*, 36; quoting the *Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, 1845.
¹²⁴ *Soc Sc*, 38.
¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 39-42.
¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.
¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.
¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.
¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 123.
¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.
¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 27.
¹³² *Ibid.*, 27.
¹³³ *Ibid.*, 9.
¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.
¹³⁵ *Ibid.* Introduction, v.
¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 160.
¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 150. Cf. the motto of HC.
¹³⁸ *Ibid.* Introduction, viii, x.
¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, vii.
¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, ix.
¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 178.
¹⁴² *Ibid.* Introduction, xi.
¹⁴³ See Note 90.
¹⁴⁴ *Soc Sc*, 99.
¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 127.
¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 131.
¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 133.
¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.
¹⁴⁹ *The Economist*, 1 March 1851, 235.
¹⁵⁰ Halevy: *The Victorian Years*, 1841-95 (Ed. McCallum), 271-2 refers to this.
¹⁵¹ Cf. his remarks on the 1848 Revolution in France, in *Soc Sc*, 28.
¹⁵² E.g., *Soc Sc*, 130.
¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 44.
¹⁵⁴ See: Gillespie: *Op. cit.*, 12, and Chap 2.
¹⁵⁵ See Beer: *History of British Socialism*, 236. Also a vol. entitled *The Ricardian Socialists*, in the Mattison Collection, Brotherton Library, Leeds University.
¹⁵⁶ J. F. Bray: *Labour's Wrongs and Labour's Remedy: or The Age of Might and The Age of Right*, Leeds, 1839, 8. But Bray's economic theories are much more radical than Hole's. He will have none of the "Wage Fund Theory" — the real cause of low wages is not oversupply of labour, nor the undersupply of capital, but the individual ownership of wealth, and the method of rewarding labour unequally. Moreover, his form of social organization in joint stock companies is different from that of Hole and the Redemptionists, since it is to be on a national, not local level; and is to be governed by industries, not by self contained communities.
For the general influence of Bray on the Redemptionists see Cole: *Socialist Thought — the Forerunners*, 1789-1850, 130, 135.
¹⁵⁷ H. S. Foxwell, introduction to Menger: *The Right to the Whole Produce of Labour*, Lxxxiii.
¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, xciv.
¹⁵⁹ *Soc Sc*, 26.
¹⁶⁰ Art. in *The People's Journal*, 1846, 136.
¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 138. Smiles was on the platform at the first anniversary soirée of the Redemption Society, on 7 January 1847. See Note 40.
¹⁶² See HC October 1847; *Soc Sc*, viii, x. Hole nevertheless realised that, in certain circumstances, the interests of the cooperative and adult educational causes might not be altogether in harmony. In a letter which he wrote to F. D. Maurice, in September 1854, about the proposed formation of a Working Men's College in London, he expressed "fears that if we take to education we shall grow lazy and lukewarm about co-operation." (Letter from F. D. Maurice to J. M. Ludlow, dated September 1854, quoted by Ludlow in his MS Autobiography, chapter 35. — Ludlow Papers, Cambridge University Library, Add. 7348).
¹⁶³ See: James Williamson: *On the diffusion of knowledge amongst the middle classes. Introductory Discourse, delivered at the opening of the Leeds Literary Institution*, May 9th 1834. (London) 1835.
¹⁶⁴ See M. Phythian: *The Mechanics' Institute Movement in Lancashire and Yorkshire, 1824 to 1850*, . . . (Unpublished thesis for Ph.D., Manchester, 1930), 9, 21.

¹⁶⁵ E.g. Williamson: *Op. cit.*; also Annual Report, York Mechanics' Institute, 1842 (in, *AR YUMI* 1842 Appendix 2, 41-5).

¹⁶⁶ A move to introduce chess into Leeds Mechanics' Institute was made in 1844, but met with strong resistance; and its introduction was delayed until 1863. — Minutes, General Comm., Lds MI, 5 March 1844, 24 November 1844 and 2 June 1863.

¹⁶⁷ A. E. Dobbs: *Education and Social Movements, 1700-1850*, 209-210, 248.

¹⁶⁸ Growth of Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, figs. from *AR YUMI*; and from the *Monthly News of Leeds Mechanics' Institute*, March 1865, 104-5).

Year. Number of Institutes. Number of Members.

1837	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	
1840	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	1,795
1841	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	1,560
1842	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	2,631
1843	..	..	..	18	..	..	..	4,215
1844	..	..	..	21	..	..	..	5,017
1845	..	..	..	23	..	..	..	5,355
1846	..	..	..	48	..	..	..	9,130
1847	..	..	..	63	..	..	..	12,000
1848	..	..	..	79	..	..	..	14,105
1849	..	..	..	86	..	..	..	15,860
1850	..	..	..	100	..	..	..	18,516
1851	..	..	..	117	..	..	..	19,293
1852	..	..	..	123	..	..	..	19,043
1853	..	..	..	127	..	..	..	19,362
1854	..	..	..	127	..	..	..	20,305
1855	..	..	..	133	..	..	..	21,080
1856	..	..	..	130	..	..	..	21,297
1857	..	..	..	130	..	..	..	20,960
1858	..	..	..	128	..	..	..	22,600
1859	..	..	..	138	..	..	..	24,600
1860	..	..	..	143	..	..	..	26,200
1861	..	..	..	143	..	..	..	26,000
1862	..	..	..	143	..	..	..	25,200
1863	..	..	..	134	..	..	..	24,000
1864	..	..	..	131	..	..	..	23,500

¹⁶⁹ See Note 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Leeds Mercury* (Supplement), 3 January 1846.

¹⁷¹ Minutes, General Comm., Lds M I, 13 January 1847.

¹⁷² *AR Lds MI*, 1847-1865; Minutes, General Comm., Lds M I. 1847-1850.

¹⁷³ Congregational Minister, Belgrave Chapel, Leeds, 1849-1864. Famed for his eloquence, he took a special interest in the life of artisans; he worked for the Peace Society, and for Church Disestablishment. He was an active member of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, and of the Leeds Conversation Club. See: *The Leeds Conversation Club (1849-1939)*.

¹⁷⁴ The Tory-Radical Vicar of Leeds, 1837-1859. Active in a variety of movements for social reform, including popular education, the Ten Hour Bill, Early Closing, public parks, and Church Institutes. See Stephens: *Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., F.R.S.*

¹⁷⁵ His name occurs frequently in the Minutes; but no personal details of him have been traced.

¹⁷⁶ Minutes, School of Art Sub Committee, Lds MI, 1854-68.

¹⁷⁷ The idea of such a magazine first came before the Committee in a letter from Barnett Blake (the agent of the YUMI). See: Minutes, General Committee, Lds MI, 26 July 1864; a complete file of the *Monthly News* is in the Leeds College of Technology.

¹⁷⁸ Minutes, General Committee, 18 June 1867.

¹⁷⁹ *AR YUMI* 1848-67.

¹⁸⁰ *AR YUMI* 1852, 29.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1860, 100.

¹⁸² Printed in *The Workman's Magazine*, 1873, 409-413.

¹⁸³ *AR YUMI* 1847, 64.

¹⁸⁴ *AR YUMI* 1848, 3, 14, 20.

¹⁸⁵ *AR YUMI* 1849, 17, and 1850, 19.

¹⁸⁶ E.g., compare *AR YUMI* 1854, 15, with *Mechs' Inst.*, 90 — on the willingness of working men to pay adequate subscriptions in Mechanics' Institutes.

¹⁸⁷ *Mechs' Inst* was favourably reviewed (after a time lag of 10 years) along with Hudson's *History of Adult Education* (1851) and five other contemporary works on Adult Education in the *Quarterly Review*, Vol 113 (1863), 34-59.

¹⁸⁸ Margaret Cole: *New Fabian Essays*, 94.

¹⁸⁹ *Mechs' Inst*, 44.

¹⁹⁰ *AR YUMI* 1853, 21, quoting "a recent writer."

¹⁹¹ *Mechs' Inst* 11.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁹³ E.g. quoted in *AR YUMI* 1853, 21.

¹⁹⁴ *Mechs' Inst* 56-7.

¹⁹⁵ Hudson: *Op. cit.*, preface.

¹⁹⁶ See Smiles' evidence before the Select Committee on Public Libraries, 1849 — *Report*, 124-5.

¹⁹⁷ *Mechs' Inst*, 17.

¹⁹⁸ E.g. *AR YUMI*, 1840, 6: 1841, 7.

¹⁹⁹ See Hudson: *Op. cit.*, vii.

²⁰⁰ *Mechs' Inst*, 22.

²⁰¹ Minutes, General Committee, Lds M I, 25 April 1848. In fact, the bulk of class provision was of an elementary type. In 1852/3 the actual attendance at 59 Institutes giving class instruction, and containing 11,813 members, was 2,110. Of this small proportion of the members (less than a quarter of the whole) attending evening classes, four fifths were in elementary classes, providing instruction in the three Rs — *AR YUMI* 1853, 15.

²⁰² *Mechs' Inst*, 32.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁰⁴ *AR YUMI* 1855, 15-16, from which the quotations in this and the following paragraph are taken.

²⁰⁵ *Mechs' Inst*, 76.

²⁰⁶ The weekly subscription was threepence halfpenny, collected fortnightly — *AR Huddersfield M I in, AR YUMI*, 1853, 75-6.

²⁰⁷ The subscription was 6d. per week, plus 1/- per Quarter. — *Mechs' Inst*, 90.

²⁰⁸ *AR YUMI* 1854, 15. G. S. Phillips in his annual Agent's Report, 1855, advocated a minimum of 3d. per week, and 6d. if the Institute was to become a real "college for the people" — *AR YUMI* 1855, 22.

²⁰⁹ *Mechs' Inst* 106.

²¹⁰ Hole is not quite fair here. The demand of Hodgskin and Robertson, expressed in the *Mechanics' Magazine*, for a Mechanics' Institute controlled by the working class, was defeated by the middle class Radicals led by Birkbeck, Brougham, and Place. For an account of this struggle, see Cole: Introduction to his edition of Hodgskin's *Labour Defended*.

²¹¹ *Mechs' Inst* 90.

²¹² *Mechs' Inst* 93; *AR of Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute*, in *AR YUMI* 1853, 75-6.

²¹³ *Mechs' Inst* 94.

²¹⁴ *Athenaeum*, 14 August, 1852.

²¹⁵ *AR YUMI* 1852, 18.

²¹⁶ "On the Institutions for Adult Education", article by Hook in *Meliora; or, Better Times to Come*. London, 1852, 39.

²¹⁷ *Mechs' Inst* 148.

²¹⁸ See: *AR YUMI* 1850, 9.

²¹⁹ *Mechs' Inst* 147.

²²⁰ The idea was also attractive to other Radicals — Cf. Thomas Cooper's idea for a "Progress Union", outlined in *Cooper's Journal*, 1850, 1.

²²¹ This was the title of one of his lectures to Mechanics' Institutes — *AR YUMI* 1861, 85; 1862, 109.

²²² *Light* 107. A similar view was expressed by Smiles in an article, "What are the people doing to educate themselves?" *People's Journal*, 1846, 222-3.

²²³ In January 1847 Hole and his fellow-Redemptionist, William Eggleston, were made Directors of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, and Hole was promptly elected onto the Library and Lectures Sub-Committees. In February, "the loan of the following publications for the reading-room was accepted with thanks: Christian Witness; Wesleyan Methodist Association; Herald of Redemption." — Minutes, General Committee, Lds M I, 2 February 1847, and 19 January 1847.

²²⁴ E.g. *The Times*, 26 February 1895.

²²⁵ Entitled "A scheme for Free Libraries". Vol I, 119.

²²⁶ *Report of the Select Committee on Public Libraries*, 1849, 129, 130, 179.

²²⁷ Reprinted in *AR YUMI* 1853, 22-4.

²²⁸ *AR YUMI* 1854, 21-8.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1853, 25-8; 1854, 28-9.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1854, 22-4.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 1856, 24.

²³² *AR YUMI* 1868, 18, 12. The number of villages receiving a box of books from 1855 to 1868 was:—

1855 ..	21	1860 ..	12	1865 ..	8
1856 ..	16	1861 ..	16	1866 ..	12
1857 ..	6	1862 ..	15	1867 ..	12
1858 ..	5	1863 ..	11	1868 ..	24
1859 ..	8	1864 ..	4		

— *AR YUMI* 1868, 12.

²³³ Editorial, in *HC*, January 1848.

²³⁴ *The People*, 1850, 11, 378-9. JOSEPH BARKER (1806-1875) was born at Bramley, near Leeds, the son of Wesleyan weavers. After educating himself, he became a Wesleyan Methodist minister (1828); but progressed through the Wesleyan New Connexion, Quakerism, "Barkerism", and Unitarianism, to a Secularist position. In 1846, assisted by Unitarian friends, he set up a printing establishment at Wortley (near Leeds), and commenced a series of cheap reprints. In 1847 he began publication of *The People*, a Republican and "ultra-democratic" journal. He emigrated to America in 1851, where he associated with the Abolitionists. Returning to England in 1860, he became one of the editors of the *National Reformer*, and in 1861 edited *Barker's Review of Politics, Literature, Religion and Morals* In 1862 he abandoned Secularism, and joined the Primitive Methodists, as a local preacher at Bilston and Tunstall. He returned to America in 1868, and died there in 1875. See: Barker: *History and Confessions of a man, as put forth by himself*, Wortley, 1846; and also the later biography, *Life of Joseph Barker written by himself* (Ed. John Thomas Barker), London, 1880; also article in *D.N.B.*

²³⁵ Several of the leading figures in the Leeds Mechanics' Institute published pamphlets and books in the controversy over national education in 1843-1846: e.g. Edward Baines: *The Social, Educational, and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts* . . . , 1843; and *Tracts on State and Voluntary Education*, 1846-56; also W. F. Hook: *On Rendering more Efficient the Education of the People*, 1846; and the Rev. R. W. Hamilton: *The Institutions of Popular Education*, 1845. (Hamilton was Minister of Belgrave Independent Chapel, Leeds).

²³⁶ Quoted in: Dyke Acland and Jones: *Working Men Cooperators* (1884 Edn.) 116.

²³⁷ *Homes*, 116.

²³⁸ There was a second edition in 1863 with a modified title.

²³⁹ Minutes, General Committee, Lds M I, 12 July 1859.

²⁴⁰ Vol II (1860) 174.

²⁴¹ Cf. *Soc Sc*, 138.

²⁴² *Light*, 14.

²⁴³ *AR YUMI* 1862, 55. This later became the Yorkshire Board of Education.

²⁴⁴ Henry H. Sales (Agent of the YUMI) was requested by the Committee of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes in 1867 to investigate the state of technical education in Yorkshire, and his report, *On Technical Education in Yorksnire*, was published in 1868. At a meeting of the Central Committee of the YUMI, on 13 February 1868, Hole seconded the proposal that Sales' report be laid before the Government, and that a Royal or Parliamentary Commission be appointed to enquire into the condition of technical education in the country. — Report in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, Vol 16 (1867-8), 271.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 183-209.

²⁴⁶ *Homes*, 112-113.

²⁴⁷ The expansion of population in Leeds had been as follows:—

1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861
53162	62534	83796	123393	152054	172023	206884
The rate of increase (on previous Census Return) was:—						
1801 - ..	17.6%	1831 ..	47.2%	1851 ..	11.7%	
1821 ..	34.0%	1841 ..	23.2%	1861 ..	16.8%	

See: F. Beckwith: "The Population of Leeds in the Industrial Revolution", in *Thoresby Society*, XLI, Part 2; No. 93, pp. 177-8.

²⁴⁸ For a sociological approach to this problem see M. B. Simey: *Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century*, (1951), 2-6.

²⁴⁹ In "The Question of Association stated", article signed "P.T.", in *The Monthly News of Leeds Mechanics' Institute*, October 1865, 219.

²⁵⁰ Cf. AR YUMI 1861, 15; and *Light*, 36-7.

²⁵¹ Simey: *Op. cit.*, 12.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁵³ *Homes*, 4.

²⁵⁴ Details from *Homes*, 87-8. The social philosophy underlying Model Housing Schemes was largely the same as that of Communitarianism, i.e. a belief that by small scale experiments, or pilot schemes, the advantages of this particular social reform would be so convincingly demonstrated that it would be adopted on a larger scale by the community as a whole.

²⁵⁵ Minutes, General Committee, Lds M 1, 3 May 1864.

²⁵⁶ Hole advocates the supervision of local authorities by a central body, (to see that sanitary regulations are enforced), the appointment, by the central body, of medical officer in towns and Health Inspectors on the same pattern as Factory Inspectors. Power of compulsory purchase of land by local authorities, whenever necessary through the growth of population and sanitary exigencies, should also be granted. *Homes*, 25-6, 35, 45.

²⁵⁷ *Homes*, 26.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 63-67.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 67-8. For more details see: Abraham Holroyd: *Saltaire, and its founder, Sir Titus Salt, Bt.*, Bradford, 1873.

²⁶⁰ Hole was friendly with Akroyd, and dedicated his book to him.

²⁶¹ This whole approach to the problem of working-class housing and social reform in general was condemned by Engels, in *The Housing Question* (1872) (reprinted in Marx and Engels: *Selected Works* (Moscow, 1951), I, 495-574). Hole is described by Engels as an "English Publicist, bourgeois philanthropist", and his book is one of "a whole series of banal bourgeois, well-meaning philistine and hypocritical philanthropic writings" (p. 525). The Social Science Association is merely "social bosh"; and "old Akroyd" is calumniated by the suggestion of flagrant immorality with his female employees (p. 538). The whole idea of this "bourgeois and semi-bourgeois utopia, which would give each worker the ownership of his own little home, and thus chain him in semi-feudal fashion to his particular capitalist" (p. 503) is condemned: and Engels extends this to a general indictment of reformism as a policy of working-class advance.

²⁶² Reported in *The Journal of the Society of Arts*, Vol 16, (1867-8) 307-317. Arbitration in industrial disputes had been practised in the Nottingham hosiery trade by A. J. Mundella from 1860, and had been advocated in 1845 by William Felkin, the historian of the hosiery trade. See the account by Mundella, read to the Social Science Association at Birmingham in 1868, in *Transactions*, 1868.

²⁶³ Hole had been present at the meeting to inaugurate the Yorkshire Penny Savings Bank in 1856; and from 1859 was a member of the Committee:— Sellers: *Memoranda . . . on the Yorkshire Penny Bank* (Leeds) 1899, 11, 15. In Winskill: *Temperance Standard Bearers of the Nineteenth Century*, II, 48, Hole is described as "an earnest temperance reformer on what are termed 'quiet and personal' lines."

²⁶⁴ He was appointed at an annual salary of £100, and this was still his remuneration in 1894. — Account Books, Associated Chambers of Commerce, 1867/8, 1894.

²⁶⁵ The material in this and the following two paragraphs is from the collection of prospectuses, annual reports, press cuttings, and MS letters in the "Papers Collected by the Rev. Henry Solly (1813-1903)" in the British Library of Political and Economic Science. In a blunt letter to Solly (5 July 1872), referring to a recent Committee meeting of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, Hole tells him: ". . . You have yet to learn the value of silence . . . You must think that we are all fools and that we could not come to right conclusions unless you showed us the way. You are without exception the most deficient in fact that I ever saw a man in a public capacity dealing with Committees . . ." Solly's reliance on Hole's advice was shown when the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Villages was being considered. Solly, writing to Hole on 20 February 1885, begins his letter playfully,

"Now, Solly, pondering, much perplexed in Soul,
Pops, prudent man, into his faithful Hole."

²⁶⁶ MS letter, Hole to Solly, 17 April 1873.

²⁶⁷ For The Trades Guild of Learning, see: *Prospectus*, May 1873; reports in the *Daily Telegraph*, and *Daily News*, 18 April 1873; and also *The Workman's Magazine*,

1873, 153, 210. For The Artizans' Institute, see: *Prospectus*, 1874, and *Inaugural Addresses*, 14 October 1874; also *Annual Report*, 1877. Details of The Artizans' Association are in the *Prospectus*, *Rules*, and first *Annual Report*, (July 1883); see also Millis: *Technical Education*, chap. 3. For The Workman's Social Education League, see: report of the 4th annual meeting in the *Daily Chronicle*, 18 July 1881, and the *Times*, 18 July 1881; also *Prospectus* (1881), and *Presidential Addresses*, by Prof. J. R. Seeley (1883), and Frederic Harrison (1887).

²⁶⁸ Also an article on "Evening Classes" — see Note 2.

²⁶⁹ The President of the Society for Promoting Industrial Villages was Sir George Campbell. The Vice-Presidents included Prof. H. S. Foxwell and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Solly was Chairman of the Council, which included, in addition to Hole, Benjamin Jones and G. J. Holyoake. — *Prospectus* (1885).

²⁷⁰ *State Railways for Ireland* (Fabian Tract No. 98), October 1899, 15.

²⁷¹ *Annual Report, Associated Chambers of Commerce*, 1895.

²⁷² *Nat Rlys*, 4.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 342.

²⁷⁵ Despite fairly extensive enquiries, no family or personal papers have been traced.

²⁷⁶ For a definition of early Socialism, see G. D. H. Cole: *Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, 1789-1850*, 2-5.

²⁷⁷ Unlike his old friends, Holmes, Green, Gaunt, and Carter, Hole's name does not appear as a supporter of the Leeds Working Men's Parliamentary Reform Association in 1861. See: *Report of the Proceedings of the Yorkshire Reform Conference held in the Town Hall, Leeds, November 18th and 19th, 1861*. (London) 1862. In a letter to J. M. Ludlow, dated 12 January 1859, Hole refers to ". . . this loud hullabaloo about Reform, that will lead to nothing and I hope will not lead to mischief"; and states that "it is pleasant to see some practical work like your Colleges and the Associations you allude to. Our principles are sound . . ." (Working Men's College MSS; Ludlow MS, Box II, No. 3).

²⁷⁸ In all his writings Hole scrupulously avoids all sectarian religious matters, as causing irrelevant divisions among reformers. Holyoake, in his *History of Leeds Cooperative Society*, 253, says that Hole was ". . . an advocate of most movements of his day which sought progress by reason". In *Soc Sc*, Hole speaks of the need to "Christianize" the factory, and of man's "God-given soul" (p. 146).

Hole was also the translator of the first English edition (1864) of Ernest Renan's *The Life of Jesus*, and in an unsigned Preface to this work he says:

"The great problem of the present age is to preserve the religious spirit, whilst getting rid of the superstitions and absurdities that deform it, and which are alike opposed to science and common sense. The works of Mr. F. W. Newman and of Bishop Colenso, and the "Essays and Reviews" are rendering great service in this direction. The work of M. Renan will contribute to this object; and, if its utility may be measured by the storm which it has created amongst the *obscurantists* in France, and the heartiness with which they have condemned it, its merits in this respect must be very great. It needs only to be added, that whilst warmly sympathising with the earnest spirit which pervades the book, the translator by no means wishes to be identified with all the opinions therein expressed."

The translation was published anonymously, and the authority for ascribing it to Hole is a letter from F. D. Maurice to J. M. Ludlow, dated 22 December 1863, in which Maurice says: "I received yesterday a letter which gave me much pain. It was from Hole of Leeds, announcing himself as the authorised translator of Renan . . ." Hole apparently misunderstood Maurice's views on the work, for he (Hole) hoped that Maurice would be able to mention the translation favourably in an article, whereas in fact Maurice was much distressed that Hole should thus help "to undermine the service of truth" by setting such a work before working men. (Ludlow Papers; Cambridge University Library: Add. MS 7348). The edition of 1864, although published in London and Paris, was printed by J. Hamer, of Briggate, Leeds.

²⁷⁹ Cf. the original aims of, and the dynamic behind the Workers' Educational Association in 1903.

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